FBIS DAILY REPORT

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REAGAN PLAN SHOWS 'U.S. ORIENTATION HAS CHANGED'

LD022354 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] The President of the United States delivered a new plan, in his television commentary yesterday, for an American solution to the Middle East crisis. Our New York correspondent Michal Stasz comments:

Reagan's speech confirmed what has been expected after the inauguration of the new Secretary of State Shultz: That is, that the United States has a priority interest in the Middle East. If in the time of the previous secretary of state, Haig, the United State's interests concentrated on European-American relations in the wider sense of the (?word) and in relations between the East and the West -- however negatively they were drafted [koncipovane] -- as a result of the latest developments the U.S. orientation has changed. In his speech yesterday Reagan mentioned the U.S. determination to fight against the alleged Soviet threat to the Middle East but in reality it is something else that matters. It is manifest that the greatest threat to the U.S. interests in the Middle East is the adventurous policy of their nearest ally Israel. On the one hand it is true that without U.S. assistance Israel could not continue in this sort of policy for a single hour but on the other hand direct economic or military pressure on Israel is unthinkable because of the unimaginably great influence of the pro-Israeli groups in the United States. Therefore, Reagan seized the only possibility he had. He put forward a U.S. draft for dealing with the conflict, the focus of which is Israel. This is why the President did not satisfy [words indistinct] discreet diplomatic channels through which he acquainted the Egyptian, Saudi Arabian, Jordanian and Israeli governments with his plan, but he decided to put forward the main points of his plan to the American public in order to gain its support.

Reagan proposes a self-administration for the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied territories in a sort of free confederation with Jordan. He also mentions that Israel should stop building settlements in the occupied territories and he explicitly opposed the Israeli plans for their annexation. The first reactions are, as expected, negative. Some pro-Israeli groups in the United States described the plan as the sale of Israel. The Israeli circles have reacted with extreme anger while the Arab states have so far withheld any official criticism.

It is understandable that no proposal in the sphere of international relations is made in the form of "yes or no". Reagan wants to gain time before the elections, as his foreign policy has practically gone to pieces now in the whole world. And he also wanted to preserve the Pilate-like pretense of clean hands at a time when his ally Israel has committed atrocities in Lebanon.

BULGARIAN PREMIER CONCLUDES WORKING VISIT 2 SEP

Tours Steel Works

LD021056 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Grisha Filipov, premier of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, visited today the working people of Polda National United Steel Works enterprises in Kladno. He got acquainted with the history and the current production program of this metallurgic combine, whose employees maintain friendly contacts with the metallurgists of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Steel Works in Pernik.

As Grisha Filipov, premier, said, Bulgaria has exceptional interests in further deepening and intensifying cooperation with Czechoslovakia, particularly in metallurgy. Comrade Filipov and the members of his entourage viewed the smelting operation in one of the 100-ton electric arc furnaces, had conversations with the metal workers and signed their names in the chronicle of the brigade of socialist labor. Their steps then led to the new billet mill. The Bulgarian guests concluded their visit of Kladno steel works by inspecting the enterprise's museum.

Confers With Strougal

LD021754 Prague CTK in English 1600 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Prague -- Premiers Lubomir Strougal of Czechoslovakia and Grisha Filipov of Bulgaria gave special attention to questions of further expansion of bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation during their talks here Wednesday and Thursday, according to a press release published at the end of Filipov's friendly working visit.

An agreement is to be drafted on this cooperation up to 1990, to be discussed and signed during an official friendly visit to Bulgaria by a Czechoslovak party and state delegation, headed by Gustav Husak, in the near future.

The premiers exchanged views on international topics, and noted their full identity. They also underlined the importance of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, and deepening the allround cooperation between the Warsaw Treaty and CEMA member countries in efforts to ensure peace and security in Europe and the world. Premier Strougal accepted Grisha Filipov's invitation to visit Bulgaria, the press release on the Bulgarian premier's visit said.

Departs for Sofia

LD021633 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Grisha Filipov, Bulgarian premier, today ended his friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia and left Prague for Sofia this afternoon. At Ruzyn Airport the guest and his entourage were seen off by Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, who invited him, and by other government representatives.

The talks between Lubomir Strougal and Grisha Filipov were directed at the further all-round advancement of Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations. The results of the talks are included in a document signed by the two representatives and also in a press report adopted at the conclusion of the visit.

STROUGAL RECEIVES INDIAN TRADE MINISTER

LD021416 Prague CTK in English 1133 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Prague -- Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here on Thursday Indian Minister of Trade Shiv Raj Patil who is currently visiting Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak premier recalled the traditional friendship between the Czechoslovak and Indian people, reflected in the efforts of both countries to expand mutually beneficial relations in the political, economic and cultural spheres. While discussing further development trends in economic, scientific-technological cooperation and trade, both sides stressed that the Czechoslovak and Indian economies can suitably complement each other and that cooperation on third markets is also necessary.

Possibilities of expanding Czechoslovak-Indian cooperation in heavy engineering, particularly in developing this branch in India and in exporting complete plants to third countries, were discussed between Shiv Raj Patil and Czechoslovak Minister of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering Eduard Saul later in the day. The Indian minister also visited an engineering plant at Zdar nad Sazavou, South Moravia.

STROUGAL TALKS WITH CSSR ENVOY TO FINLAND

LD030152 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, received Jan Husak, Czechoslovak ambassador to the Republic of Finland, in Prague today and discussed with him questions connected with the further development of relations between Czechoslovakia and Finland.

POLITICAL TALKS WITH MPR MINISTER CONCLUDED

LD021522 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1110 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 2 Sep (ADN) -- The foreign ministers of the GDR and the Mongolian People's Republic, Oskar Fischer and Mangalyn Dugersuren, concluded their political talks on Thursday in Ulaanbaatar.

The main topics were international questions, especially the joint struggle of the socialist community of states to secure peace and reject the imperialist policy of stepped up arming and confrontation. The ministers, who had an identity of views in their assessment of the enormously escalated international situation, agreed to coordinate the foreign political stances of their states, in the United Nations among others, even more strongly. This involves supporting jointly all steps which serve the preservation of peace. Oskar Fischer and Mangalyn Dugersuren expressed the conviction that the policy of increased arming and boycotts has no future, as it is against the interest of all peoples.

At the same time, they expressed their concern that this confrontation course of imperialist circles can lead to an expansion of existing trouble spots and to the outbreak of new conflicts. Thus, one cannot permit Israel, with the support of its imperialist patron, to create, with its murderous campaign against the Palestinian and Lebanese people, new bases against its Arab neighbors.

The Mongolian foreign minister praised the active foreign policy of the GDR aimed at the preservation of peace and security. Oskar Fischer supported the initiative of Mongolia for the preservation and securing of peace in Asia. The Mongolian proposal for the conclusion of a convention on mutual nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations between the states of Asia and the Pacific area is exemploary for other regions of the world. Both sides agreed on a communique which will be released at the end of the official friendship visit of the GDR foreign minister.

KUWAITI PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION ARRIVES

LD021736 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1555 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Berlin, 2 Sep (ADN) -- A delegation of the Kuwaiti National Assembly arrived on Thursday for a visit to the GDR. The delegation, headed by speaker of the National Assembly Muhammad Yusuf al-'Adasani, was cordially welcomed at the Berlin-Schonefeld Airport by Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. During their visit to the GDR, lasting several days, the guests will exchange experiences of the highest people's representations of both countries with People's Chamber Deputies, as well as visiting the Potsdam area.

U.S. MIDDLE EAST PLAN SHOWS NO CHANGES IN POLICY

DW021207 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Frank (Raeter) commentary]

[Text] In a televised speech last night, U.S. President Reagan explained some fundamental concepts of his government concerning the situation in the Middle East. Here is a comment by Frank (Raeter):

The United States continues to agree with Israel that there must be no Palestinian state. This is the crux of the so-called peace plan which Reagan presented. Not only in the Arab world do people note that the timing of the publication of this U.S. concept regarding the Middle East was chosen directly after the barbaric Israeli war against the Palestinians and Lebanese, which was genocide for which the United States has also made itself culpable by its massive arms deliveries, its behavior in the UN Security Council and other UN bodies, and by its overall political backing of this Israeli crusade.

Reagan said that following the PLO withdrawal from Beirut, the United States considers the time suitable to come out with ideas about the next step of U.S. Middle East policy. Under express rejection of a separate state for the 4 million Palestinians, there is merely talk of autonomy for them in West Bank and the Gaza Strip. What the framework for that autonomy should be is left completely unsaid. There is talk about concerted action in connection with Jordan.

It is not without reason that all this is being expressed in a rather vague way. The Palestinians in these territories have indeed gathered quite a lot of experience about autonomy. During the 15 years of Israeli occupation, they have been given a daily demonstration of where the limits of this alleged self-government are: mayors allowed to be elected have been removed by the occupation authorities without hesitation whenever they failed to act in Israeli interests; any manifestation of political will is suppressed by force of arms; people in disfavor disappear behind prison walls.

I spoke of vague formulations in the U.S. plan. If we take a closer look at Reagan's remarks we find that interestingly enough all basic requirements are missing which, in keeping with agreed world public opinion and the corresponding UN documents, must be met to achieve a true and lasting solution. Above all, this means the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories -- including Lebanon, by the way -- and the recognition of the rights of the Palestinians including a state of their own.

What the United States has in mind with the plan it presented last night is in line with its years-old concept for this region -- to make the Middle East a playground for its own interests exclusively. The Soviet news agency TASS says that the plan is intended to ensure politically now what Israel has achieved militarily.

The fate of the Palestinians and the vital interests of 100 million Arabs -- all this has never played a role in the Middle East calculations of the United States.

NATION PREPARED TO STRENGTHEN TRADE UNIONS

LD021748 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1424 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Berlin, 2 Sep (ADN) -- The trade unions in the GDR are prepared "to do everything in order to strengthen socialism." This was stated by the chairman of the National Executive Committee of the 9.1 million member strong FDGB, Harry Tisch, on Thursday in Berlin. "Thus we are making a decisive contribution to the struggle for the preservation of peace," he said at the end of a meeting of the National Executive Committee.

"To strengthen socialism and peace everyday with good deeds," Harry Tisch continued, "is the most effective and best trade union representation of interests." This indivisible unity between socialism and peace had also been the mark of the meetings on World Peace Day, the day of action of the trade unions for peace.

Speaking on the confrontation policy of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, Harry Tisch said: "The most important, the most current task is to do everything so that sources of conflict are removed and so that the danger of a world conflagration is banned." He decisively condemned the crimes perpetrated by the Israeli aggressors on the Palestinian and Lebanese people, and demanded the fulfillment of the UN resolutions on a political solution of the Near East conflict.

OFFICIAL DESCRIBES FORESTRY MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

DW020709 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1800 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Interview with Rudolf Ruethnik, GDR deputy minister for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs, by moderator Wolfgang Reichardt in the feature "Answers"; questions based on telephone queries from listeners -- live in the studio]

[Excerpts] [Question] Comrade Ruethnik, let me ask you a rather generally phrased question: What is the value of our forests? After all, we have to admit that compared with other countries the GDR is not a country with extensive forests.

[Answer] I believe we have to say that our forests are very valuable to us. Forests are an important raw material source. As you know, on the world scale wood holds third place among all raw materials -- behind coal and petroleum. Forests stand for life; they provide relaxation and recreation. Forests are ecologically important in addition to representing a great factor in landscaping.

As you correctly noted, the GDR does not have a very large wooded area. Nevertheless, there is 2.9 million hectares. This is equivalent to 27 percent of the GDR's territory. In relation to the number of people in the GDR, this means a per capita wooded area of 0.18 hectares. Compared with European countries, for example with the CEMA countries, we are in next to last place, better only than Hungary which has 0.17 hectares per citizen.

As a result we must manage our forests very conscientiously and prudently. We have good forests in the GDR, and we can thus use a relatively large amount of wood, which is highly important for the national economy. We have predominantly coniferous woods. Stands of pine cover 55 percent of our forest area while spruce trees cover 22 percent of the area. This means that roughly 75 percent of the forest area is made up of coniferous trees. This is an advantage because coniferous trees are important for our national economy and offer many uses. Beech accounts for roughly 8 percent of the area, oak for 7 percent, the remainder involving greatly diversified deciduous and coniferous trees such as linden, maple, common ash, alder, birch and so forth.

It is the task of the working people in the forestry sector to try to supply the national economy with even more lumber on the basis of prudent forestry management and important intensification measures. The party congress has instructed us to cultivate our wooded areas even better and, beyond that, to enhance the landscape effect of the forests so that our people may feel comfortable in our forests to an increasing extent. This means that the continued cultivation of our woods is increasingly becoming a general social task.

[Question] Comrade Ruethnik, could you tell us something about the extent of the damage done to forests by fires, and can you cite figures to show what it means when a forest fire is reported?

[Answer] Yes. We have had a very dry and hot summer this year. The danger of forest fires was very acute, and many forest fires did in fact occur. So far we have had about 215 forest fires covering an area of more than 1 hectare, with approximately 2,000 hectares of woods affected.

In addition, in December 1981 great damage was done by snow. The snow breakage in the woods amounted to about 5 million cubic meters over an area of more than 200,000 hectares in the Thuringian forest and to about 4 million cubic meters in Suhl Bezirk. Breakage in Erfurt Bezirk amounted to nearly 750,000 cubic meters, and new snow breakage of more than 100,000 cubic meters occurred in Gera Bezirk. This is a lot of damage and is put in perspective when we note that the snow breakage in Suhl Bezirk nearly equaled the amount of wood targeted for cutting in the 5-year plan.

It is now important to process the snow breakage as quickly as possible. Our party leadership and our government have adopted extremely important and effective measures to this end, and the processing of the snow breakage has thus become a general social concern in the GDR. Forest workers from all other bezirke are helping in Suhl and Erfurt Bezirke, as are personnel from state administrations, plant administrations and institutions.

[Question] Does the wood from breakage have a use economically?

[Answer] Yes, definitely. The clear objective is to put the wood from snow breakage to full economic use. It is important to use the best wood first, meaning the strongest pieces of timber in general and wood for lumber in particular, as well as wood for our cellulose industry. For this reason we have set for ourselves the target of concluding the processing of snow breakage next year so that the wood can be economically utilized.

[Question] Are we cutting down too much wood?

[Answer] No, we are not. We are, in fact, cutting less wood each year than we gain in growth. We are pursuing an economic policy in forestry management -- thanks to the prudent, orientational guidance of our party leadership -- aimed at enriching existing forests, that is to say, enriching the live wood reserves. The present quantity of live wood per hectare is more than 170 cubic meters. If you have such a good forestry inventory you have a good growth rate and, consequently, you can have a good harvest. We are managing our forestry sector in such a way that we will be able to constantly supply the national economy with more wood in the next few years without our forests suffering in any way.

KADAR MEETS WITH LAOS' PHOMVIHAN 2 SEP

LD022022 Budapest MTI in English 1708 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI) -- As reported earlier today, Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP CC, Thursday met Kaysone Phomvihan, secretary-general of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party CC and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, who was spending some of his holidays in Hungary from August 15 to September 2. The meeting was attended also by Matyas Szuros, member of the CC and head of the foreign department.

At the meeting, held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, the sides informed one another about the situation of their countries and activities of their parties. They reviewed the development of Hungarian-Laotian relations and exchanged views about topical questions of the international situation and the international communist and workers movement. They mutually confirmed the determination of their parties to develop further the internationalist friendship and cooperation of the two countries and peoples.

Janos Kadar spoke with appreciation about the initiatives and steps the parties and governments of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea have taken to strengthen the peace of the region and the security of its peoples, and to create good-neighborly contacts with other countries. He expressed the sympathy of Hungarian communists, the working people with the peaceful construction work of Laotian communists and the people, as well as with their fight for the country's independence and security. The sides stressed that in the present international situation it is of special importance that the socialist countries, the parties of the international communist and workers movement, and every peace-loving and progressive force unite and embark on joint action against the aggressive policies and warmongering of imperialism. In this context they again pledged support to the proposals promoting consolidation of international peace and security made by the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community.

Kaysone Phomvihan met Ferenc Havasi and Miklos Ovari, members of the HSWP Political Committee and secretaries of the CC, as well as other party and state leaders. He called at factories and agricultural enterprises.

Kaysone Phomvihan left Hungary on Thursday.

PUJA, NORWEGIAN COUNTERPART DISCUSS RELATIONS

LD030138 Budapest MTI in English 1738 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI) -- The heads of Hungarian and Norwegian diplomacy again sat down to the negotiations table Thursday afternoon in the Foreign Ministry building. Frigyes Puja and Svenn Stray continued the discussion of topical international questions, reviewed the two countries' relations and the possibilities of expanding them.

MSZMP SENDS CONDOLENCES TO PZPR ON GOMULKA DEATH

LD022018 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI) -- The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party expressed its condolences on the death of Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka, former first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, in a telegram addressed to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS VIEWS ECONOMIC SITUATION

LD030136 Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Excerpt] Budapest, September 2 (MTI) -- At its Thursday session the Hungarian Council of Ministers discussed the report read by the president of the National Planning Office on

the implementation of the annual national economic plan and heard a report on the country's financial situation. It was established that in view of the unfavourable and still deteriorating world economic situation and some internal processes that are failing to follow the plan, it has become considerably harder to achieve the main objectives. The council called on the management, the companies, cooperatives and budget-run institutions to make extra efforts to reduce production and operational costs and to further economise on energy and materials, with the ultimate goal of improving the country's economic balance. The Council of Ministers reviewed the progress of preparation of the 1983 national economic plan and state budget and determined further tasks.

Interest Rates To Increase

LD030144 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI) -- As reported, the Hungarian National Bank -- In accordance with a Council of Ministers resolution -- will raise by 2 per cent the rate of interest on company and cooperative loans and deposits as from October 1, 1982.

The higher interest rate on loans is primarily expected to encourage companies and cooperatives to save on loans and use their own resources and it is hoped that the higher rate on deposits will further encourage savings.

In increase of interest rates -- with some justified exceptions -- applies to all kinds of loan and the full stock thereof, including loans raised by the councils. The bank will demand 1 per cent higher interest rates if justified by the costs of the investment resources, taking international interest rates into consideration.

No higher interest rates will apply to export promoting investment credits and on credits refinancing export loans granted by companies, before January 1, 1981.

The bank will reimburse 45 per cent of the interest rate of credits designed to expand the export commodity base and promote rational energy utilization, in contrast to the previous 33 per cent, if the company fulfills obligations assumed in the credit aggreement. Similarly 45 per cent will be reimbursed from the interest on short-term revolving assets loans, if the share of export is in excess of 25 per cent of the company's total sales receipts.

Higher interest rates will be payable on funds deposited with the bank by voluntary decision of the economic organizations and councils for a fixed period.

KOROM ADDRESSES MSZMP COLLEGE CEREMONY

LD020230 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI) -- A degree ceremony and the opening ceremony of a new academic year was held at the HSWP CC's College of Political Sciences in Budapest Wednesday. The ceremony was addressed by Mihaly Korom, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

"Aggressive U.S. big capital and the Reagan administration, which has expressed its ambitions, determined a course to oppress socialism and national liberation movements and gain superiority. Despite its absurd character, this ambition of U.S. imperialism is very dangerous and makes the united action of progessive forces very important. We are continuing to work on and promote the unity of the forces of peace and progress.

"Tension and insecurity is likely to continue to characterize the international political and economic situation in the coming years. We have to reckon with the fact that the struggle and competition of the two socio-economic systems will become sharper than in the 1970s. As a result of increasing economic difficulties and continuous inflation, some countries are responding in an unexpected way to the processes of world economy and creating unexpected situations."

"There are likely to be difficulties that have not appeared before or which have had an relatively little effect. It, however, must not lead to disorientation and inconsistent or voluntaristic measures that do not take the situation into account."

On ideological tasks, the secretary of the Central Committee stated: "Parallel with recent results, our knowledge about socialism has also increased. Despite troubles and mistakes our system has proved its strength and superiority. However, socialism is not a completed establishment. The creative application of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the concrete situation and relations is the source of the 25-year-long successful policy of the HSWP and our further activity. If there is a new situation there is no reason for confusion or a right to silence. Marxism-Leninism is not a collection of abstract dogmas and declarations. Creative theory is in close relation with changing reality. It is receptive to practical experiences and able to exploit new relations. Nowadays the development of socialist economy gives rise to several ideological problems, the solving of which is indispensable for our further development."

In conclusion Mihaly Korom stated: "We have to continue to work on the strengthening of the political unity of the society, the unity of various forces, which is the greatest achievement of the past 25 years. It involves new questions and answers, ideological education and conviction.

GASPAR ATTENDS AUCCTU CEREMONY HONORING WORKERS

LD030140 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI) -- The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions has awarded decorations to one hundred Hungarian workers for outstanding achievements in the cooperation of Hungarian and Soviet enterprises, for the excellent quality and accurate delivery of export consignments. The decorations were handed over on Thursday at the headquarters of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (CCTU) by Vladimir Sergeyev, department head at the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions. He praised the work of Hungarian workers, expressed also in the excellent quality of export products deliveries they promote fulfillment of the Soviet Union's five-year plan that is also expressed by the name of the decoration -- Ace-Worker of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The decoration ceremony was attended by Sandor Gaspar, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary-general of the CCTU, by Laszlo Balla, department head at the HSWP CC, Bela Rabi, secretary of state for the Ministry of Industry, and Vladimir Bazovskiy, Soviet ambassador to Hungary.

CC POLITBURO DISCUSSES EVENTS OF 31 AUGUST

LD022244 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2023 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Communique on 2 September session of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee]

[Text] The Politburo of the party Central Committee has held debates. The Politburo also paid tribute to the memory of Wladyslaw Gomulka-Wieslaw. The Politburo reports that an honorary committee for mourning celebrations has been set up.

The party Central Committee Politburo assessed the current sociopolitical situation in the country, paying particular attention to the events which took place in some towns on 31 August this year. The Politburo stressed that extremist forces endeavored to disrupt the process of stabilizing life in the country and the citizens' sense of safety, which was being revived. The anniversary of the August agreements became the pretext for a new provocative adventure. The objective was to turn Poland once again into a center of unrest and riots in accordance with the global plan of the U.S. administration. In order to achieve this goal the opponents of socialism, supported by foreign subversive centers, for a number of days conducted a mass aggressive campaign of inciting Poles and disseminating plans for demonstrations.

The authorities have pointed out persistently and consistently on many occasions the dangers for the most vital interests of the nation and the socialist state which stem from attempts to stir up social unrest. They warned against the consequences of violating martial law. These appeals were ignored by (?groups) of inhabitants. As a result of this, street incidents occurred in some towns. The Politburo denounces these irresponsible activities which led to a dangerous clash. At the same time it expresses its profound regret that there were victims during the incidents. Full responsibility for all the lamentable facts, for evoking a climate of hatred and violence, for urging certain groups of young onto this path, rests on the inspirers and organizers of the street actions.

At the same time the Politburo instructs all institutions of the educational front to conduct a penetrating analysis of the participation of young people in the events in order to draw conclusions indispensable for the needs of educational work, including a deepening of those conclusions arising from the resolution of the ninth Central Committee plenum. [as heard]

The Politburo expresses its appreciation for all those who, displaying a full sense of responsibility and understanding of the seriousness of the situation, did not heed adventurist slogans and cut themselves off from participation in the incidents. The fact that on the day of the anniversary of the August agreements work proceeded as normal, in many cases even with increased productivity, in all production works, enterprises and institutions, deserves particular appreciation. The working class, working people, guided by a sense of responsibility for the country, striving for stabilization and social poeace, displayed a civic attitude worthy of respect.

The sensible involvement and political activities of party organizations were an important factor in the consolidation of social calm. The Politburo expresses its appreciation for the functionaries of the civic militia, the security service and the voluntary reserve of the civic militia for resolute actions which prevented further provocations, but which were at the same time restrained and which restored calm. The Politburo assessed highly the attitude of the regular personnel and all the soldiers of the Polish People's Army, who are always ready to defend the interests of the nation and of the socialist state.

Attempts to reverse our country from the path of socialist renewal will not succeed. The Central Committee Politburo stressed emphatically that the program of the ninth congress is and will remain the most important guideline in the activity of the party and the state. This program will be implemented with full consistency.

The Politburo stressed the need and desire for further consistent action for the cause of continuing the reforms which serve to overcome the crisis, particularly the following: the protection of families in which life is hardest; the absolute struggle against speculation, the phenomena of dishonest self-enrichment, and the unjustified exaggeration of prices; combating manifestations of bureaucracy lack of soul and incompetence.

The Politburo expresses the convinction that the working class, all honest working people will oppose with their patriotic attitude and work those who sow unrest and confusion -- forces of anarchy who with antisocialist objectives try to disrupt the process of accord and national rebirth and are ready to place our homeland at fatal risk.

The Politburo appeals to party members, to all Poles who are guided by the good of Poland and the nation to act and work for the restoration of sociopolitical stabilization and for the extricating the country from the crisis.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo acquainted itself with the course of the social discussion of the declaration on the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth and with the state of work connected with shaping and developing its structure. It was stated that the creation of the Patriotic Movement National Rebirth is of particularly great significance in the current situation. This movement can and should bring together all working people and patriots who are guided in their life and work by the superior reasons of the state and nation.

The proper reaction of millions of working people to the recent attempts at instigating riots in the country bears witness to the fact that the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth may be constructed on a broad basis encompassing the overwhelming majority of Poles. The Politburo pledges the party echelons and organizations, and party members, to actively support the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth.

The Politburo approved ideological, political and organizational guidelines concerning the report-back campaign. It was stressed that this campaign should contribute to an increased activeness and aggressiveness of party organizations and to making a penetrating analysis of the implementation of the tasks stemming from the Central Committee resolutions.

CLASHES CONTINUE IN LUBIN FOR FOURTH DAY

NC031030 Paris AFP in English 1023 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] Warsaw, Sep 3 (AFP) -- Violent clashes broke out for the fourth day in a row today in the southwestern Polish city of Lubin between thousands of supporters of the banned free trade union Solidarity and security troops, reports here said quoting sources on the scene. The sources said yesterday's clashes continued until the early hours of today, and that barricades were set up throughout the copper-mining town of 50,000, which is completely sealed off by militia since last night.

At least three people were killed in Lubin during demonstrations there Tuesday, although unconfirmed reports mentioned as many as five, or even eight dead.

Foreign correspondents who tried to reach the besieged town were turned back 8 kms (5 miles) outside Lubin. Foreign residents have been asked to leave the city, now totally cut off by security forces.

The sources said that fierce clashes broke out when militia forces attempted to remove cross-shaped flower wreaths laid at the spots where three persons were killed during Tuesday's demonstrations marking the second anniversary of the Gdansk accords. There were violent clashes again today with tear gas fumes billowing over the city, the sources said. But fighting was expected to escalate later today when two of the dead protestors are buried.

The authorities have so far indicated that only two people were killed Tuesday. The Lubin Communist Party daily SLOWO POLSKIE today gave their names as Andrezj Trajkowski, 23, and Mieczyslaw Pozniak, 25, the sources reported. Another nine were wounded by gunfire Tuesday, the paper added, including a 17-year-old. The paper said that Lubin demonstrators shouted "down with the party" and called the militia "nazis" and "gestapo."

1 Sep Disturbances

LD021640 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Excerpts] According to reports of the voivodship defense committee in Legnica the unfavorable sociopolitical climate caused by the adventurist acitons of antisocialist forces on 31 August continued yesterday, reflected yet again in street disturbances. The workforces of Lubin work enterprises approached these problems with understanding and enormous feeling of responsibility. In spite of lively discussion about the events, work in the factories went on as normal during the first and second shifts on 31 August [as heard].

Not everyone has understood properly the nature of the street disturbances of 31 August, or comprehended their political nature and sources of inspiration. Not everyone was able to draw proper conclusions from those events. On the contrary, there were irresponsible people who, in order to heat up the mood in the community, called for revenge and undertook actions to cause more street disturbances.

Since the morning of 1 September provocatively behaving groups gathered in those places where disturbances occurred on Tuesday. Hostile shouts were raised. In the afternoon the numbers of participants began to increase quickly. Groups of children and youths directed by adults actively took part in building barricades. The international book and press club located in the town hall was set on fire and a fire engine which tried to intervene was pelted with stones and gasoline bombs. Also, news stands were set on fire.

Following resolute action by the forces of law and order calm was returned to Lubin by nightfall.

It is particularly alarming that large numbers of children and youths took part in the street disturbances. Their aggressiveness was frequently met with no reaction from adults. Lack of imagination was also shown by large groups of onlookers, unaware that their presence became a factor in increasing the activeness of the participants and made the restoration of calm and order difficult.

Third Person Dies

NC021917 Paris AFP in English 1911 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Warsaw, Sep 2 (AFP) -- A third person died in clashes with security forces Tuesday in Lubin, south-western Poland, reliable sources reported here today. The sources said that the three killed in Lubin when police fired on demonstrations marking the second anniversary of the Gdansk accords [words indistinct] technical school teacher and two minors. Crosses of flowers and cartridge cases had been laid at places where the three died, the source added.

The sources, from Lubin, said that fierce clashes broke out in the copper mining town today for the third day running when the militia attempted to take the flower crosses away. Several thousand people were involved in clashes with the militia, who fired tear gas grenades, the sources said. The fighting was still going on at 1900 local time.

Militia Seals Off Town

NC022239 Paris AFP in English 2230 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Sept 2 (AFP) -- Militia sealed off the southwest Polish city of Lubin tonight as thousands of demonstrators clashed with security forces.

A curfew clamped on the copper-mining city, scene of fighting for the past three days. Non-residents were forbidden to enter and all foreigners were ordered to leave, reports in Warsaw said, quoting sources at the scene.

Tear-gas grenades were fired by the militia, the sources said.

Earlier today, reliable sources in Warsaw reported the third death from Tuesday's fighting and identified the dead as two miners and a teacher from a technical school. This brought the national death toll from the August 31 demonstrations to four. One demonstrator died during violence in the Baltic port city of Gdansk. But the number could rise, because many of the injured were in serious condition, the Polish news agency PAP said. One person hospitalized in the Polish capital was critically hurt.

Clashes had resumed yesterday in Czestochowa, southern Poland, official sources announced. But it was impossible to know if fighting had erupted in other cities -- 30, according to latest reports -- hit by the August 31 demonstrations, as all communication between cities had been suspended.

70 Detained on 31 Aug

LD021800 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] On 31 August the militia in Lublin detained 70 people who participated in the disturbances. So far 7 people have been tried before misdemeanor courts. All of the cases have been examined and the perpetrators were fined between Z10,000 and Z20,000. The investigation proceedings have been directed to the military prosecutor's office.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON ASSESSMENT OF DISTURBANCES

Kalisz, Piotrkow: Calm Reigns

LD022108 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] At the session convened summarily yesterday of the voivodship defense committee in Kalisz, a report on the situation on 31 August was presented by the voivodship commander of the Citizens' Militia.

He stated that on the territory of the entire Kalisz Voivodship order, harmony and calm reigned. Despite the intensity over the days preceding 31 August of leaflet campaigns and calls for provocative demonstrations, the work forces did not take up these calls and did not go out onto the streets. All units of the national economy functioned normally without disruption. The work forces of Kalisz enterprises disassociated themselves from the provocations, thus expressing their political maturity. In the workers' milieux it is stated that the political opposition has suffered a decisive defeat. In the light of these facts the voivodship defense committee in Kalisz sees no need to apply drastic measures aimed at restricting freedoms, (?or) introducing a curfew.

In Piotrkow (Trybunalski) a session has taken place of the voivodship defense committee, at which the state of security and public order in the voivodship was assessed. In the communique issued after the session it is stated that the sociopolitical situation in Piotrkow Voivodship is characterized by progressive stabilization; and on 31 August harmony and order reigned. The work forces of all work places, enterprises, institutions and officers continued normally, implementing their everyday tasks.

Wroclaw: 39 Breaches of Peace

LD021428 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] The voivodship defense committee in Wroclaw has assessed the sociopolitical situation in the city and voivodship in connection with the events of 31 August this year. It was stated that there were breaches of the peace in 39 places in Wroclaw and this caused many hardships to the city's inhabitants.

As a result of the destruction, 24 trolleys were immobilized, 3 cars were burned and many others damaged. Because of barricades and damage to the street surfaces, urban transportation was not operating in many regions of the city. The urban communal services removed a considerable part of the damage (?and) destruction in the night hours of 31 August. The normal work in plants in Wroclaw and in the voivodship, which went on without disruption, should be stressed.

Tricity: 442 Detained, 1 Death

LD021418 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Forces of order detained a total of 442 people, 259 of whom are young people under 25 years of age, in the course of the incidencs which occurred in the tricity (Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot) on 31 August. According to the voivodship doctor in Gdansk, health service establishments rendered first aid to 29 civilians who were hurt during the incidents and to 42 militia officials.

Six civilians and 10 militiamen, one of whom is in serious condition, have been hospitalised. Unfortunately, there has also been one fatality, 22-year-old Piotr Sadowski from Gdansk who died during the incidents from causes not yet established. The voivodship prosecutors' office is conducting an investigation into this case.

Czestochowa: 251 Detained

LD021546 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Today the voivodship defense committee in Czestochowa analyzed the events on 31 August and 1 September and assessed the current state of order and safety in the voivodship.

Organs of the civic militia detained 251 people who participated in the street occurrences. Two hundred and five of those detained are under 30 years of age. Fifty-two people are unemployed. There are 49 people among them who have a criminal record.

It has been ascertained that work at industrial enterprises and institutions in Czestochowa proceeded as normal in spite of the factious leaflet campaign.

Curfew Introduced

LD022134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] From the analysis of events conducted by the voivodship defense committee in Czestochowa, it becomes apparent that work in industrial works and institutions proceeded normally. The enterprises in the region did not become a site for incidents. The committee expresses appreciation for the mature bearing of the working class, and also assesses positively the correct bearing of the security forces which have restored harmony and order in the town, in which street incidents also took place yesterday.

Organs of the Citizens' Militia have detained 251 participants of these events. In Czestochowa a curfew has been introduced for young people under the age of 21.

Krakow: Casualties, Arrests

LD021730 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] The voivodship prosecutor's office in Krakow has reported today on the preliminary results of the investigation into the events of 31 August. Twelve functionaries of the Citizen's Militia were injured during the street riots in Nowa Huta and other parts of the city; six of them are hospitalized; the condition of one of them is very serious. Ambulance services rendered aid to 24 civilians. Five of them suffered bodily injuries during the incidents; the remaining complained of irritation to the eyes.

Forces of order have detained 211 people, including 124 people under the age of 20, 55 people aged 20-30 and 18 people over 30 years old. One hundred and eighty people are appearing before misdemeanor courts. The remaining will appear before court under summary procedure. Material losses are estimated at over Z5 million.

Assessment Continues

LD021906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] A meeting took place at the Lenin Steelworks today of the chairman of the voivodship defense committee, the mayor of the city of Krakow, plenipotentiary of the committee of national defense Jozef Gajewicz, Maj Gen Leonard Sulima, and representatives of the work force. The discussion had a working nature. Among the topics raised, three cropped up most frequently: an assessment of the events of 31 August, the activity of commerce in the town, and the combating of speculation.

In order to effect a full explanation of the events of 31 August, the Krakow mayor proposed the organization of a meeting with the commander of the Citizens Militia in this city so an objective exchange of views can be made on the basis of concrete documents and photographs.

Bydgoszcz, Gorzow: 116 Held

LD021742 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] During the street disturbances in Bydgoszcz on 31 of August, 116 most active participants were detained. They have been tried before a misdemeanor court which, under summary procedure, has already issued 97 sentences. Fines up to Z20,000 were issued.

In Gorzow functionaries of the forces of order detained 137 most active participants of the disturbances. Many of the detainees have been previously sentenced for ordinary offences. It is worth recalling that in Gorzow losses are serious: 17 militiamen were injured as the result of the disturbances, and 2 firemen were injured. Many vehicles were damaged including two vehicles belonging to fire brigades.

ZBOWID Condemns Disturbances

LD022244 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] A session of the presidium of the main board of ZBOWID [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] has adopted a resolution on a proposal to build a hospital as a monument to Polish mothers in Lodz (?or) in Warsaw.

The presidium of the ZBOWID main board also adopted a statement in which it firmly and decisively condemned the street excesses and provocations which took place on 31 August and appealed to the veterans of World War II to maintain vigilance toward the deeds of the enemies of socialist Poland, and always maintain loyalty to the homeland in all their bearing and work, and to resist hostile activities.

Disturbances in 28 Areas

NC021630 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Sept 2 (AFP) -- Demonstrations and clashes took place Tuesday throughout the Wroclaw region in southwestern Poland, the local communist party daily newspaper GAZETA ROBOTNICZA reported in its yesterday issue which reached here today. The paper said the incidents in Wroclaw [words indistinct] hours and said clashes also occurred in the cities of Zgorzelec, Slaski, Jaworze and Zlotoryja.

The cities cited by the paper bring to 28 the number of urban centers where officials acknowledge that demonstrations took place Tuesday, as authorities appear to be gradually conceding that the entire country responded to Solidarity's call for gatherings marking the second anniversary of the Gdansk accords.

GAZETA ROBOTNICZA said a militiaman was shot and wounded Tuesday in Wroclaw -- where eye witnesses put the number of demonstrators at 15,000 -- during the confrontations in which both young and old persons took part.

The newspaper said barricades were erected throughout the city and that demonstrators battled security forces with rocks, paving stones and Molotov cocktails. Calm was not restored until 1:00 a.m. Wednesday, it said.

PAP news agency, meanwhile, reported today that gatherings took place at 39 different locations in the city.

Trials Under Summary Procedures

LD021836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] It appears from PAP reports and from those of our correspondents that the main perpetrators of the 31 August street disturbances are being tried under summary procedures.

During the street disturbances which took place on Tuesday in the tricity area, the authorities detained 442. Today in Gdynia and Tczew the first severe sentences have been handed down in the cases which have come under summary procedures. In the morning the regional court in Tczew sentenced three persons to prison terms ranging from 1 year to 1 year and 3 months for offenses against functionaries and organs of the Citizens' Militia.

The regional court in Gdynia has sentenced five persons to imprisonment varying from 10 months to 1 year. Other trials are in progress this evening in Gdansk and other places. Preparations for trials under summary procedures are in progress for those participants of the street disturbances who were particularly brutal.

Misdemeanor courts in Wroclaw and other towns of lower Silesia are examining the cases of persons who were detained during the 31 August disturbances.

In the old town of Wroclaw Powiat more than 100 cases have been examined so far. In more than 80 cases young people under 30 years of age were tried before disdemeanor courts. The sentences range from 14 days to 3 months imprisonment with the option to pay fines instead ranging from Z4,000 to Z14,000. Among others, a young builder, Jerzy T., who was proven to have thrown stones, was fined Z12,000. Franciszek W., 45, without a permanent address and unemployed for 6 years, was fined Z8,000 or 30 days in prison for participating in the disturbances. A young girl, Wanda K., a student in her 5th year, was acquitted after her case had been examined thoroughly. All those who had to face the misdemeanor courts stated that they were only accidental participants who got lost in the crowd. In Wroclaw alone street signs amounting in value to Z500,000 were vandalized, shop windows in many places were broken, clocks at the main railway station were broken and some vehicles were set on fire. Financial losses are serious.

In Legnica and Lublin misdemeanor courts also examined several dozen cases; they are issuing fines between Z1,000 and Z20,000.

Summary Procedure Explained

LD022114 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Interview with Warsaw court press spokesman by unidentified Warsaw television reporter; date and place not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] Today in the regional courts of Warsaw trials against persons detained during the street disturbances on 31 August in Warsaw are in progress. On the air the press spokesman of the voivodship court in Warsaw [words indistinct]. How many cases have been brought in at present?

[Answer] The first cases were brought into our two regional courts at 1300. Seventeen cases have thus far come into the regional court of the metropolitan city of Warsaw, and two cases to the regional court for Warsaw-Praga which will be examined under summary procedures.

[Question] What does "summary procedure" mean?

[Answer] The most characteristic features of the procedure consists of the fact that the perpetrator must be brought before the court within 48 hours of committing a crime of public vandalism. If the evidence presented during the trial is sufficient, sentence is passed immediately after the case has been examined. In exceptional cases when there is a need for the presentation of additional evidence, one is allowed to announce a break for a period of time no longer than 7 days. Under a summary procedure, taking into account the changes which were introduced with the decree of 12 December 1981 regarding special procedures, it is possible to pass a sentence of up to 2 years deprivation of freedom and a fine, apart from the imprisonment, of up to Z100,000.

At the present moment a judgment has been passed in one of the cases. The defendant (Krzysztof) W., 23, an art restorer who has not been punished before and was permanently employed, was punished for a violation of Article 236 of the penal code, in connection with Article 59, paragraph 1 of the penal code which deals with assaulting a functionary of the militia during and in connection with the performance of his duties. He was sentenced to 8 months deprivation of freedom. The court applied a temporary arrest after the judgment was announced. [as received]

Majority of Defendants Young

LD021852 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Penal courts today examined under summary procedures the first group of cases brought against the participants of Tuesday's disturbances, against those who were caught while committing crimes of a destructive nature.

There were 17 trials before the regional court in Warsaw. The majority of the defendants are young. They are humble and full of repentance. It is odd that these are the same people who threw stones, slandered the Citizens Militia and violated the national flag. However, from the evidence presented it appears that there is no question of a mistake here. These are the same people, the ones we saw during the disturbances; sons and daughters of crying mothers and irritated fathers, waiting in the court corridors.

Verdicts: 6, 8, 9 months of deprivation of freedom. In practice, for a young person, for a student in the last years of secondary school, those are penalties which can completely change his life's plans. The most frequent explanation: I was in the crowd. Others were doing the same. I was not aware of the fact that I was committing an offense for which I could be imprisoned.

But, after all, a person who is 18 or 20 years old is not a child any more. He is responsible for his deeds. It is worth thinking twice before one succumbs to somebody's persuasion and takes to the streets and crowds.

Fines Not Preventive

LD022034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] A misdemeanor court in Walbrzych has examined 19 cases concerning participation in illegal assemblies and demonstrations on 31 August in the past 2 days. Five verdicts have been passed which sentence those responsible for violating the decree on martial law to a fine of Z18,000 or exchange of the fine for 90 days imprisonment. Fines ranging from Z5,000 to Z15,000 with exchange of 75 days imprisonment have been passed on the remaining participants in the incidents.

Over 350 perpetrators already appeared before misdemeanor courts in four Wroclaw districts yesterday. The fines passed ranged from Z5,000 to Z20,000. Unconditional arrest was applied to several people whose conduct during the events was particularly aggressive.

In Legnica Voivodship misdemeanor courts were already passing verdicts in cases concerning the violation of martial law in force in the country the day before yesterday in the evening [31 Aug]. Verdicts for the punishment of 56 people have been passed under summary procedure. Trials continue.

In Lodz, after the events of 31 August, talks with work forces, especially (?those) of a mature age, contain much criticism of the inspirers and participants of the street disturbances. The dimensions of the penalties also evoke much controversy. The predominant view is that fines, even high ones, do not fulfill any particular preventive role

From talks with workers it is apparent that a much greater deterrent would be use of penalties of unconditional [bezwzgledny] detention, with an obligation of public work for the town and the economy.

PRESS ASSESSES 31 AUGUST STREET DEMONSTRATIONS

Motives Analyzed

LD030830 Warsaw PAP in English 0719 GMT 3 Sep 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sept - The army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today denounced the provocative underground opposition forces opposed to normalisation in Poland as "insane," perfidious and abhorrent for which words are lacking to express condemnation. The adventurist excesses of late were planned in cold blood, almost inhuman premeditation, pressing on for confrontation at all cost and using all possible methods, even taking casualties into account. To our widespread grief there were casualties for which the society will take those forces to account severely.

"Those insane, perfidious and abhorrent forces were alone on their way to nowhere, for the course of August 31 demonstrated in spite of all that reason, general desire for peace, order and normalisation of our life won the upper hand. 'Come with us', was the cry coming predominantly from a youngster, a hooligan, who later barbarously destroyed public order. For an overwhelming majority of Poles appeals of the political underground had an alarming and alien ring and the provoked adventurist excesses met with condemnation," said ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

The PUWP daily TRYBUNA LUDU, in a commentary entitled "Whose August Is?" [as received] pointed to the fact that the organizers of the street excesses were striving to create the impression that they had monopoly to the memory of the August anniversary, that it was just them who had the exclusive right to decide on the course of the day of August 31.

"There is in this usurpation as much falsehood as sheer contempt, contempt for the workers who did not take to the streets, for the women who were queing for shops, waiting at bus and tram stops, and thinking with concern about their children, contempt for the young people who spent their time preparing for the first day of the new school year.

"But the truth is that the events of two years ago are precisely the common gain of all those who treated the date of August 31 as a normal day. Such an attitude did not mean at all that the universal memory of the importance of the events which had taken place two years before, was getting blurred."

TRYBUNA LUDU went on:

"Suffice it to look at the numerous documents of the recent period to find out that the anniversary of August 1980 was not passed over in silence by the authorities which respectfully refer to it as a period of outbreak of justified social protest which only later the anti-socialist opposition was trying to exploit to further its own ends."

In conclusion TRYBUNA LUDU wrote that the development of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is "realistically only the beginning of coming closer to agreement on a general social scale. But the road to it is open, with the exclusion of only those who have opted for orientation hostile to socialism."

Guise of Democratic Opposition

LD021534 Warsaw PAP in English 1425 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Sep (PAP) -- The Polish Army newspaper said today that "direct fight against the law enforcement forces was already tried in August, mainly in Wroclaw. In the result of that attempt it turned out that to disperse demonstrations law enforcement organs use tear gas, water cannon, and batons at least, but refrained at all costs from using more drastic means.

"The organizers of the disturbances decided to take a step forward. This time, street clashes became more bitter -- mostly in Lower Silesia. It was just there -- in Lubin -- where the drama, about which [words indistinct] was sounded till the last minute, took place.

"The commonly understood sorrow filled our hearts when we heard the words of a communique: 'Two demonstrators died, 12 were injured and 12 militiamen wounded, including one voluntary militia auxiliary.' The truth is even more tragic. It says: 24 Poles have lost their health, two lost their lives. Who will stand face to face with their relatives?

"One lacks words of condemnation for Najder, Grabowska, Podgorski and other so-called journalists of Radio Free Europe who delude and mislead young Polish souls. Condemnation for those for whom this homeland is good which pays them better," [as received] said ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. The armed forces daily added that "one lacks words of condemnation for Frasyniuk, Lis and Bujak who were anticipating -- and so presumably planning -- just such an outcome of the so-called peaceful demonstrations as in Lubin.

"The Polish authorities will not be lacking the will to stand by the policy of agreement and reforms, and put to public judgment all those who turned the confidence granted to them by workers two years ago into the policy of confrontation regardless of the price and methods.

"Hand in hand with Radio Free Europe, the political underground condemns everything which is socialist in Poland, pretending that it does not know it is weakening everything which is Polish in this way. For example, those people continuously recall the 1950s, and yet, they or their likes lent their hands without hesitation to deformations of that time and later on to the propaganda of success. Their dressing in the guise of democratic opposition is a telling example of lie. Their time is passing by. They will not be 'a side' to talks between Poles now. The Polish people can only judge them. The verdict will be certainly harsh," opined ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

Demonstrations in West Fail

LD021228 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Sep (PAP) -- Today TRYBUNA LUDU publishes an article with the title "Anti-Polish Displays" by Daniel Lulinski.

Free Europe and similar radio stations have been trying to create the impression that participants in the antistate demonstrations in Poland could be sure of the solidarity and support that simultaneous "mass workers demonstrations in the West" would give them. This should have encouraged them.

On the other hand, the "post-December" and older emigrants taking part in the meetings and processions organized in the West thought that they would attract attention to themselves and receive support from the public here and that they would be indispensable for the centers of psychological war against Poland and other socialist countries. The "Solidarity" insignia was used here only as an auxiliary masking label.

According to Polish correspondents and the world's information agencies, the attempts of the organizers of anti-Polish displays and meetings slandering our Polish authorities and state were unsuccessful. In fact they were a failure. More often than not the native citizens of the countries involved showed very little interest in them, and this includes the local Polish colonies. The organizers from reactionary emigrant circles and their Western political benefactors made up the main core of participants and remained within their own circle.

Significant in these displays were the attempts to give internal Polish problems the character of contentious international questions.

After criticizing the martial law situation in the Polish People's Republic, participants at a meeting in Chicago demanded "further measures to hinder the planned construction of a Siberia-West Europe gas pipeline." Here it was not Poland that was being dsicussed, but rather torpedoing the "contract of the century," which is being frustrated by Ronald Reagan, and taking in hand the West European allies whose interests lie in the East. The "Polish" pretext is made great use of beyond the ocean.

The previously coordinated dates for anti-Polish displays in the West and planned street disturbances in Poland were aimed at turning back the policy of renewal and the process of normalization in Poland. This will not happen.

PARTY WILL NOT SWERVE FROM CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

LD022144 Warsaw PAP in English 2025 GMT 2 Sep 82

["PUWP CC Lecturers Meet Milewski and Madej" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 2 Sept -- PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Miroslaw Milewski said today in a reference to the latest street incidents that "no provocations will make the PUWP swerve from the road of implementing the resolutions of the 9th congress. That is the line of the socialist renewal."

Addressing a group of PUWP CC lecturers he added that "the party is open to any initiatives designed to speed up coming out of the socio-political and economic crisis." He particularly pointed to the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and employees self-management as the platform for such initiatives to which all citizens have access "except for the enemies of the socialist system in Poland."

During the meeting, Poland chief planner Vice-Premier Zbigniew Madej analyzed propcsals contained in the earlier-published variants of the national economic plan until 1985 and the preliminary economic assessments for the years 1986-1990. The vice-premier warned against phenomena which may extend the period of overcoming the crisis, such as the mal-adjustment of enterprises to the conditions of the economic reform. The variants envisage the possibility of Poland's regaining the pre-crisis production level in a matter of three years.

WEST ASSIGNS POLAND ROLE OF DESTROYING SOCIALISM

LD021310 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Jan Gadomski commentary]

[Excerpts] We Poles are bad students of history, both old and contemporary. I am not hinting of the naive and harmful silences on the history of the years 1918-20 and 17 September 1939. We are bad students of history because we want to find in it chiefly elements serving the traditional lifting up of hearts, accounts of our Polish supremacy and victories and also those which show our neighbors in a bad light.

We have become used to drawing conclusions from September 1939 which gratify our national pride. We have become used to setting to one side everything that does not satisfy that pride.

In this simple way, we are on the best way to losing the next historic chance to learn something from our own mistakes in order not to repeat those mistakes. In that tragic September for the Polish nation we went into battle alone against a powerful opponent. The 20 interwar years brought us isolation from all our neighbors. The anti-Sovietism of the policy of the Polish state at that time was accompanied by conflicts with Czechoslovakia in the south and with Lithuania in the north, not to recall [word indistinct] the greatest and most important conflict with the German state. Polish diplomacy, after all, had been seeking a modus vivendi with those Germans under whose blows we fell in 1939.

The Polish state at that time was betrayed by its Western allies. What does the young generation know about this today? Let us beat our breasts, we the middle generation. How few conclusions from our Polish history have we brought into the consciousness of contemporary young people. If it were otherwise, we would not be dealing today with this contempt for neighbors and the worship of distant, very distant powers. People entering (?adult) life should know on the basis of the historical experiences of their own nation that Poland was always treated by the West purely as an instrument. It was to serve their political interests exclusively. In the long run, these interests were never concurrent with the interests of the Polish nation.

If today, on Tuesday 2 September, U.S. President Ronald Reagan says that the events in Poland make him feel strengthened in his policy of economic sanctions, he is not thinking about Poland. (?God forbid). Poland is only a convenient pretext for him to wage an economic war against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. Poland seems to him still to be an explosive charge by whose means it will be possible to divide the socialist powers so hateful to him and his allies. But what if the charge itself falls into fragments in the process? What does the incendiary device care about that? It is difficult to be amazed by this. However one needs a lot of political naivety today, after all the painful historical experiences of the Polish nation, to believe that the Western powers feel disinterested kindness toward Poland. We have again been assigned the suicidal role of subordinate. The American strategists plan that it is the Poles who are to set fire to the edifice of socialism in Europe -- and burn themselves in the process.

Today we do not know very much about our traditional Polish naivety. Do we have to relapse into the habit?

GLEMP MEETS POLES IN ESSEN, CALLS FOR DIALOGUE

LD030130 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 2 Sep 82

["Poland's Primate Talks to Poles in Essen; by PAP correspondent Juliusz Solecki" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Bonn 2 Sept. -- Poland's primate Archbishop Jozef Glemp who is attending the congress of West German Catholics met today representatives of Polish communities in Essen. The primate told them that Poland needed above all calm and that calm was one of the basic conditions for overcoming the present and future problems of the country. Stressing the need for discussion, Archbishop Glemp declared that the church was against actions linked with violence. There is no sense in hurling stones where dialogue is needed in the first place, said the primate. Archbishop Glemp visited the cathedral in Essen and met the archbishop of Ruhr Franz Hengsbach, chairman of the [word indistinct] church commission. Poland's primate and members of the Polish Episcopate delegation to the Catholics congress in Duesseldorf were received by the Essen burgomaster at the town hall.

JARUZELSKI SEEKS OPINION OF TEACHERS, STUDENTS

LD022314 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] This morning Wojciech Jaruzelski visited the Warsaw complex of electronics schools named after the Polish working class in Zoliborz [Warsaw District].

The aim of the premier's unexpected visit was to listen in at the classes and to get to know the opinions of the teachers and students at the school. The guest also visited several workshops. Moreover, the premier was interested in the problems of health protection at the (?school) clinic.

After the completion of the visit, during a short meeting in the principal's study, the premier stressed the need for the teachers' clearly defined [word indistinct] on which the upbringing of youth depends to a large extent.

The party and state leadership is tackling the problems of schooling from the point of view of having enormous confidence in Polish teachers. This was, for many years, an underestimated profession. The teachers' charter passed this year by the Sejm, creates a new chance in this respect. It is necessary to patiently conduct explanatory work by means of frank discussions among educators, as well as teachers and pupils.

I did not choose your school by chance, the premier said. It enjoys a good reputation and prepares students for modern industry. The name which you bear is that of the Polish working class, the creator of a better political order, and its role in our state must be propagated and (?brought home) to the community.

At the farewell, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that he views his visit as preparation for the approaching session of the Council of Ministers at which the draft program for the upbringing of the younger generation will be considered.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS DISCUSS SOLIDARITY, UNIONS

AU021633 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 82 p 4

[PAP report: "Government Representatives Before Television Cameras"]

[Excerpts] Television began a new series of programs on Saturday, 28 August, entitled "Questions and Answers." The following took part in the first of the three-part series: Deputy Ministers Janusz Obodowski and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski; Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of trade union affairs; Zygmunt Lakomiec, minister of domestic trade and services; Wojciech Pruss, first deputy to the minister of price affairs; and Stanislaw Nieckarz, first deputy to the president of the Polish National Bank.

In answer to the question as to whether it is true that Edward Gierek committed himself to tolerate political opposition in Poland in return for a U.S. loan, S. Ciosek said that this is nonsense. M. Rakowski replied to the last question in the first part of the program concerning Lech Walesa's whereabouts. The Solidarity chairman is currently in a government center in Arlamow in southern Poland. Representatives from the International Red Cross visited him recently, and right now his wife and children are there.

A topic which repeated itself many times during the meeting was the future of trade unions. A renewal of the activity of the trade union movement depends on when martial law ends, and this in turn depends on the normalization of life and on calm in the country. Work is continuing on the law on trade unions. The government has taken its stance on the bill and has submitted it to the Council of State, which will submit it to the Sejm for discussion. Solidarity's future took up a lot of time in the replies. It was said that right now, Solidarity activists are to a large extent shaping this union's future themselves.

Many activists in the opposition are taking advantage of the Solidarity banner and are dragging the union in the wrong direction toward frontiers where, after they are crossed, the hand of accord will be too short to reach. There will be no room in the future trade union movement for people who push trade unions into the opposition. The current view is spreading in some circles that "everything is being blamed on Solidarity." This is not true. The government has made and is making an objective appraisal of this union's activities. In this context, attention was drawn to the fact that mistakes committed by the authorities in the past have been criticized, for example at the ninth party congress.

It was said in one of the replies that the activists in the underground will have more and more reasons to be worried, for more and more people are looking at reality in a sober manner and less and less are they lending an ear to the murmurs of the political opposition and submitting to its provocation. The authorities do not treat the organizers of various actions and illegal speeches leniently at all, although one often hears the opinion that they do. On this subject, the government believes that it is necessary to act according to the letter of the law since the aim of the normalization measures is to apply the law in force to every citizen in every situation.

On the issue of trips abroad by internees, it was stated that although almost all of the 2,049 internees and their families who have applied for passports since 1 March this year have received them, only 142 persons have gone abroad since the embassies of Western countries, mainly those of the countries in the NATO bloc, issue visas to these persons rather reluctantly.

In the closing parts of the program, Deputy Premier M. Rakowski, replying to a question on relations between church and state, stressed that this dialogue has never been broken. During talks with the Episcopacy, the issue is raised among other things of the demonstrations which occur in the streets following church ceremonies. He also said that 331 permits were issued in 1981 for the building, renovation and extension of churches and chapels, whereas for 1982-83 206 permits for building churches and 20 for building chapels have already been issued. This is not the full number since data on this subject has not yet arrived from some voivodships.

INTERNED HISTORIAN PONDERS SOLUTIONS TO CRISIS

PM021529 Paris LE MATIN in French 21 Aug 82 p 12

[Article by Jacek Kuron: "What Now?"]

[Text] Jacek Kuron, historian, founder of the Workers' Defense Committee, leader of the Polish secular movement, and one of the main oppositionists interned in Bialoleka by the authorities, has managed to pass out this document in which he considers the future of the trade union movement in Poland. This letter, entitled "What Now?" was published in the weekly TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE on 14 July.

After August 1980 the Polish authorities were faced with the following alternative: either to work with the whole nation to reform the system so that society might have a share in running the country, or else to crush Solidarity and the whole of society. For more than 1 year the government tried to do the impossible: to introduce reforms and at the same time resume full control over the organizations, the circulation of information and decisionmaking.

Solidarity could not limit its role to being exclusively or even mainly a trade union. In that case it should have demanded at least a wage increase and a cost of living bonus. But there was really nothing to share. On the other hand, being a trade union, it could not seize power and that was not what its members and society as a whole expected it to do.

In that situation the trade union chose the only possible solution: action in favor of all society sharing in running the country in order to create a new system in which Solidarity could really be a trade union.

But it is impossible to become joint manager when the manager does not want an associate.

The generals and secretaries say they saved the country from civil war on 13 December. But they fail to say that by resorting to force they made it impossible to save the economy. For the situation to be stabilized, assuming that is possible, it would be necessary for society to accept a lower living standard than in the years 1951-53 and to agree to rebuild the country -- in other words, be prepared to make vast efforts and sacrifices. But it is impossible to count on society's cooperation with a government based on force. orce in a bankrupt country leads inevitably to civil war.

The dramatic alternative which led to the outbreak of this strange war is still relevant; either conditions are created in which the citizens feel they are joint administrators of the country, or there will be a bloodbath.

It is society's confidence in Solidarity which has saved the country from civil war. But that cannot be used to return to the situation as it was before 13 December. Those who think otherwise probably do not realize that the trade union will have to agree to a reduction in wages, increased prices and unemployment, to ban demands and to force people to work.

There are two methods of creating conditions likely to guarantee society a share in administration of the country.

Solution A:

The government or a section of it agrees to conclude a real accord with society, represented by the organizations which are independent from the authorities, the party and the state -- in other words, primarily by Solidarity. The main element of that accord should be the program to rebuild the country. It must include the plan to reform the economy and the state and outline investment, credit and tax policy.

That program should be designed so that those main elements, notably those involving sacrifices, can be submitted to a national referendum. It is only after securing society's agreement that it will be possible to go ahead with implementing that program. Moreover its implementation should be supported and controlled by all sides.

In the name of that national accord this war will be ended as will all those which preceded it in Poland since 1945 with a complete amnesty on one side and the church's solemn forgiveness on the other. In the name of a joint program the trade unions will publicly renounce demands which go beyond that program.

In the framework of such an accord Solidarity would be a social guarantor for the implementation of that program and would ensure a fair distribution of the fruits obtained.

Solution B:

The authorities will push society toward an explosion which will prompt the government's fall. But in this case too it is possible to avert a Soviet intervention provided all the institutions which have the people's confidence show they are capable of grasping the situation. They must create a national government immediately.

Such a government would immediately publish a statement on keeping alliance pledges to the USSR and launch the action envisaged in solution a.

I repeat that the principle of national salvation can only be based on a program to rebuild the country supported by a society organized independently from the authorities, the party and the state -- a program accepted in a national referendum.

TRYBUNA LUDU ANALYZES POST-AUGUST SITUATION

AU021130 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 82 pp 3, 4

[Jerzy A. Salecki article: "August 80 -- August 82"]

[Excerpts] Two years ago, in July and August 1980, the workers class manifested its opposition to the economic, social and political reality of the time by means of mass strikes. It was generally hoped that the signing of the agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie would commence renewal and give a taste of harmonious cooperation between all patriotic forces for the sake of the socialist fatherland. The party's stance on the events was of decisive importance; it established what roads the entire country should take.

The party chose a road leading to rebirth. A road of agreement and battle. A road of agreement -- with all citizens and social forces who want a better future, recognize the constitutional political order and desire, by means of overcoming mistakes and efficiently working, to strengthen socialism as a system of social justice, citizens' liberties and economic activity. A road to battle -- against the existing evil which was born in the past and against those who, taking advantage of the crisis period, desired to weaken the people's state, assume authority and, openly questioning the socialist reality and the future, really lead to a change in the system in Poland.

Today, 24 months later, unfortunately marked by unrest, upheaval and tension, we can sum up the experiences gained during the recent past.

Stance of the Workers' Class

Agreements. Representatives of the government and of interfactory strike committees placed their signatures upon further documents. Directly after the Gdansk text had been signed, the PZPR Central Committee took it, as the communique says, "into its store of knowledge."

The fact that, to use a phrase then current, agreements had been made "like one Pole with another" could fill one with hope, but then the everyday reality of succeeding months showed the real intentions of the signatories of the documents. The party must have been concerned about the numerous, declared opponents of socialism joining founding committees and worker's initiative groups and wanting a renewal of the trade union movement in Poland.

"We will consistently reach for the roots of the tension and remove it... Nevertheless, we must realize that not only is a battle going on to regain the confidence of the workers class, there is also fierce battle going on against the opponent. We want to solve the country's difficulties, yet the antisocialist opponent wants to use the conflicts which have arisen for aims that are contrary to what workers desire and support..."

The development of events confirmed how appropriate this analysis, formulated during the sixth plenum, was. August 1980 revealed a loss of the confidence of the masses in the narrow state and party leadership team, and it also revealed a loss of faith in socialism, which this group (allegedly, of course) was supposed to personify. This was much more ominous. The spiralling events often ignored the weaknesses of the party apparatus and structures, the shortcomings of ideological training and the neglect which occurred at a time when the main principles of socialism were applied to satisfy urgent needs.

August 1980 revealed the fallacy of the theses on the inborn class consciousness of all workers and on their insusceptibility toward propaganda with antisocialist contents. The strike at the Gdansk shipyard which occurred when members of the Workers' Social Self-Defense Committee [KSS-KOR], the Young Poland Movement and the Confederation for an Independent Poland entered the territory of the shipyard went beyond the most frequently made economic demands and reached its final stage as a political strike after the formulation of the "21 points." Nevertheless, one ought to stress that regardless of the emotion and mood created by the opposition's demagogic propaganda, all attempts at directly disowning the party as an ideological and political force and all attempts at negating the raison d'etre of socialism in Poland were never applauded by workers.

Trade Unions: Free, Independent and Self-Governing?

One could foresee the possible development of events: The fulfillment of the demands carried with it numerous unseen and potential dangers -- for the party itself, the socialist system and the people's state. For the PZPR Central Committee had accepted the demands of the striking workers who demanded in the first point of the Gdansk document the acceptance of "free trade unions". It accepted these demands because they had been made by workers who had criticized the role and structures of the trade union movement in force up to then.

It also accepted them, since -- as the agreement document said -- "in establishing new, independent, self-governing trade unions, the Interfactory Strike Committee declares that they will observe the principles laid down in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. The new trade unions defend the social and material interests of workers and do not intend to fulfill the role of a political party."

The Gdansk document which was quoted above defined the powers of the later Solidarity together with its obligations. In the fall of 1981, a large majority of the delegates at Solidarity's first national congress, answering searching questions, said that the term "social movement" is better suited to their organization than the name trade union. This transposition, which was unnoticed or regarded by millions of rank-and-file members of the union during succeeding months as of little importance, expressed the ideological and organizational change and the transformation from the "pure stream" of August to one of political manipulation in October, 1981.

For the extremists who led it, Solidarity really became a facade for activities quite alien to professional, social or living problems of working people. The Solidarity leaders showed no desire to cooperate with the authorities and did not want to be jointly responsible partners for the preparation and implementation of a renewal program for the economy and for sociopolitical life. Such an attitude in the system of socializing production resources, when the state is the basic employer and at the same time the distributor of the national income which has been worked for, must lead to situations of conflict. The PZPR wanted to consistently eliminate such conflicts.

Solidarity did not want to be a partner, opposing the government's proposals. It did not want to improve them or add to them, but presented its own solutions as the only ones that were right. The union's leaders made the most of the failing economy, at the same time turning public opinion not toward work and increasing social discipline, but toward confrontation with people's authority. After Solidarity's national congress, none of the daring political observers in Poland had the slightest doubt that the game which had been started by the extremists allegedly in the name of the "union's security" was leading because of its irresponsibility straight toward another, real danger -- for the people and the state.

Politics, Economics and Manipulation

After the ninth congress, at which the "Program for Developing Socialist Democracy, Strengthening the PZPR's Role in Socialist Construction and Stabilizing the Country Socioeconomically" was formulated, the "economic war" which had been declared on the state by Solidarity extremists reached its apogee. It had two basic aims: to strike a blow against the socialist system and against the proletarian party. The myth of a "second Japan", similar to the myth of a "second Poland", a piece of hope without any foundation, did not conceal economic cleverness, but political appetites.

In August 1980, workers whose trust had been exploited by the leadership team at the time, and who, often having all the right reasons and rights behind them, had lost in the struggle with arrogant officials who had been aliented from society, saw in Solidarity's emergence an institutional guarantee that their rights, which had been won thanks to socialism, would be protected.

No extremist, however, wanted normalization as a base for renewing people's lives. None of them wanted real negotiations and the solving of difficult issues by means of mutual concessions by both sides. They wanted to destroy the authorities and cast the party in a bad light, and turn the essence of socialism into a mere facade.

This work was backed up by various centers of imperialist subversion, employing a developed propaganda apparatus and aiding the extremists financially and materially. For the program and activities of the extremists aroused hope in the West that fundamental changes would occur in Poland and that the unity of the socialist camp and the European status quo would be undermined.

What Sort of Democracy?

Facts which are generally known confirm the statement that Solidarity became a screen for groups striving to question the postwar status quo, our alliance with the Soviet Union and Poland's place in the socialist camp. The anti-Soviet statement by "activists" in the union and in its press were proof of overt irresponsibility and political stupidity. For there was a definite purpose in this: to undermine the credibility of socialist Poland in the eyes of its Soviet ally in accordance with the imperialist desires of breaking up the unity of the countries in our camp.

Despite repeated assurances and declarations, the Solidarity leadership tried to conduct its own "foreign policy" right until December 1981. This it did by separating itself from the democratic trade union movement, teaching its neighbors what "real freedom" really is, maintaining contacts with political groups who are openly hostile to People's Poland and setting up a union representation in the United States without the government's consent. There is no need to say that we confront these actions with the texts of three basic agreements....

General Jaruzelski's appeals and those of numerous deputies during Sejm plenary sessions for commonsense, consideration and responsibility for the sake of national interests fell on deaf dears. In the fall of 1981, extremists attacked the party in workplaces, at the same time setting up paramilitary fighting squads. During the talks in Radom and Gdansk, the Solidarity leadership worded an ultimatum to the authorities, threatening to stage an indefinite general strike and dangerous street demonstrations.

There Will Be No Repetitions

It is still difficult. Between August 1980 and August 1981, key capitalist countries, applauding the rise and activities of Solidarity and any antisocialist actions, were not too slow in rendering Poland economic aid, giving the reason for this as the existing debts. We recognize the logic of this by the principle "business is business" [words given in English] since December 1981, the United States and its allies have been placing obstacles in our path and making it more difficult for us to heal our economy not for financial reasons but for political ones. The policy of economic sanctions has directly hit 36 million Poles. The propaganda flowing from the West is nothing other than a policy of intervention in the affairs of a sovereign state. Polish public opinion is capable of evaluating the credibility of President Reagan, the "defender of freedom", who is not bothered by the Israeli aggression in Lebanon. President Reagan is ready to help if the Polish Government meets certain political demands and restores the state of before December 1981.

The Nation's Agreement

In socialist Poland, the only sovereign is the working masses and the nation, whose constitutional representatives and the authorities controlled by them are obliged to express and fulfill the aims, needs and aspirations of people in general. Looking at the relations between the citizens and the authorities of the people's state this way, the August agreements take on their true significance. They express the needs and aims of the community, its anxieties and hopes. They are not a "trade" agreement between two sides, they are agreement for the nation. During the succeeding months, the Solidarity extremists distorted the sense of the agreements and broke them, interpreting them in such a way as to achieve political advantages in their own interests. After all, today also shows what they were aiming at. The so-called Solidarity underground is constantly, but without significant effect, making fresh attempts to disorganize our life, separate the community from the authorities and delay the process of normalization.

PUBLICATION ON EVENTS LEADING TO MARTIAL LAW

LD021158 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 2 Sep (PAP) -- The Book and Knowledge Publishing House has issued a publication called "Before 13 December" which was prepared by the government press bureau. It presents a synthesis of social, political and economic events and strikes, discussions and all types of threats and pressures that took place in the period immediately before the introduction of martial law in Poland. Questions connected with the government's attempts to form a front of national agreement occupy first place.

JASTRZEBIE MINE WORKERS COMMEMORATE ACCORDS

LD031120 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Sep (PAP) -- Three September marks the second anniversary of the signing of the agreement between a government commission and the interfactory strike committee of the "Manifest Liptzowa" coal mine in Jastrzebie.

In connection with this, a meeting was held at the Rybnik association of the coalmining industry at Jastrzebie by the workers' aktiv of the mines with the participation of representatives of party organs of the Katowice Voivodship and the department of the mining industry and power engineering. The meeting was an occasion for taking stock of the course of events at mines, in the region and in the country, and of the experience which has been acquired over the past 2 years. Recalling the dialogue between the miners and representatives of the authorities, the participants in the meeting emphasized that despite the extremely difficult conditions in a situation of destructive activities inspired by the extremist "Solidarity" forces, the overwhelming majority of all decisions at Jastrzebie in the field of the economy and politics have been implemented, especially those decisions which met the most vital interests of the miners.

The good results of the miners' work, the participants in the meeting stressed, are deserving of special acclaim, since it is they which have become the basis for eliminating the negative aspects of the whole economy and which are giving rise to optimism.

The participants in the meeting discussed various questions, in particular they talked about the complexion of the future trade unions, self-management and economic reform and the problems connected with holding a dialogue with the authorities.

During the meeting, recognition was expressed on behalf of the management of the department concerning the role of the miners' collectives with their sense of discipline at this time, and for the fact that they have not given in to the persuasions of the enemies of our country and the workers' interests.

(Jaroslaw Senkiewicz), chairman of the "Jastrzebie" inter-mines workers committee, who signed the Jastrzebie agreement on behalf of the inter-mines strike committee at the "Manifest Liptzowa" mine, who took part in the meeting, told a PAP journalist in part: From what we have seen over the past 2 years, a conclusion has to be made. We have to understand certain phenomena and interpret them correctly, for herein lies half of the success for the future. The agreement has hindered those who built on the bases of it a political program behind the backs of the workers and wished to come to power. The enemies used the entire stock of hopes and emotions and faith in the new trade union and succeeded in using it to corrupt the political and economic structure of power. The decision of 13 December last year was inevitable and timely.

A future can be built on a future revitalized trade union movement. The unions can ensure that the activities of the authorities are positive, and that the August 1980 slogans "socialism yes; distortions no" are real.

LEGAL ACTION AGAINST FORMER OFFICIALS DISCUSSED

AU021717 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 82 p 5

[PAP interview by Tadeusz Szkamruk with Tadeusz Skora, Polish deputy minister of justice: "Legal Procedure Against Former High Functionaries" -- date and place not given, passages in all capitals denote boldface as published]

[Text] ON 24 AUGUST, THE PRESS PUBLISHED A REPORT BY THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE ON THE COURSE OF THE LEGAL ACTION TAKEN AGAINST SOME PERSONS WHO IN THE PAST PERFORMED LEADING FUNCTIONS. THIS REPORT MET WITH GREAT INTEREST. IN CONNECTION WITH THIS, A PAP JOURNALIST ASKED TADEUSZ SKORA, VICE MINISTER OF JUSTICE, FOR ADDITIONAL EXPLANATIONS.

[Question] Does the report published mean that the main personalities, the people most responsible for bringing the country to the crisis, will not be brought to account?

[Answer] Our government has stated that they will be brought to account. This, in particular, was the purpose for which the Tribunal of State has been instituted. The public will be informed about its work.

[Question] There are many people who think that only a few former high-ranking functionaries have been brought to account...

[Answer] A few? LEGAL PROCEEDINGS HAVE THUS FAR ENCOMPASSED MORE THAN 200 PERSONS. HOWEVER, IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE LEADING CADRES, FOR THE MOST PART, WERE HONEST.

[Question] Some people say that those put on trial were mostly the so-called "small fry."

[Answer] AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE THUS FAR BEEN IMPRISONED WERE TWO MINISTERS, TWO VICE MINISTERS, SIX GOVERNORS, FIVE VICE GOVERNORS, SEVEN PZPR VOIVODSHIP COMMITTEE SECRETARIES, CITY MAYORS AND HIGH-RANKING DIRECTORS. Those put on trial have simply been those who were suspected of being guilty before the law, including higher and lower leading cadres. In bringing people to account, the organs of investigation and administration of justice have not been guided by any consideration for the positions held by any suspect.

[Question] And here is another objection: The sentences passed were strangely mild, and the courts have been particularly kind with regard to people formerly belonging to the leading cadres.

[Answer] IT IS NOT TRUE. SENTENCES VARIED IN PROPORTION TO THE OFFENSE. For example, Marek Wolyniak, former deputy mayor in Plock, has been sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment; Bernard Kokowski, former mayor of Koszalin, to 7 years; Eugeniusz Pacia, former minister of food industry and procurements, to 5 years; sentences of more than 5 years of imprisonment have been passed against a total of 11 persons formerly belonging to the leading cadres. There were also acquittals. In most cases, the courts passed short-term prison sentences, and frequently the sentences were suspended, although they were always couped with appropriately stiff fines. Why do such sentences prevail? Because of the functions performed previously? It was simply because defendants belonging to the former leading cadres were mostly accused of such offenses as mismanaging funds, misappropriating various objects, and abusing the position.

Of course, while meting out punishments, the courts always take into account the duties connected with the high position held because abusing such a position for private advantage is an aggravating circumstance. But to judge fairly means to examine each case separately and to carefully consider the degree of guilt.

WHEREVER THE PROSECUTOR REGARDS THE SENTENCE AS TOO MILD, HE APPEALS TO A HIGHER COURT AND DEMANDS HARSHER PUNISHMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, THIS HAPPENED RECENTLY IN THE CASE OF THE FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL CUSTOMS OFFICE. APPEALS ARE ALSO BEING MADE BY THE DEFENSE. HIGHER COURTS CAREFULLY REEXAMINE MOST CASES AND FREQUENTLY CHANGE THE SENTENCES.

The courts always impose stiff fines. In addition to this, persons who enriched themselves in a dishonest way lose whatever they thus acquired, or even all their property. Persons who previously held high positions and did not commit any offenses in the sense of criminal law but only acquired something against the valid regulations or against a sense of justice, must abide by civil law regulations and return whatever they acquired, pay taxes, and lose the apartments, construction and recreation sites allotted to them.

In addition, dishonest people are being deprived of the opportunity to hold any leading position in the future.

[Question] If things are going so well, why do so many people consider that the sentences passed were too mild, that they did not apply to all culprits, and that the proceedings are dragging indefinitely?

[Answer] During a certain time, for the ends of the political struggle, opinions were fabricated and spread that all the authorities were a big thieving mafia getting criminally rich on a large scale. The scrupulous examinations and checks have not confirmed that those charges applied wholesale. Honest people predominated among the leading cadres. Unfortunately, there were many dishonest people too. But there were not too many cases in which dishonesty reached big proportions.

It is, however, a fact that the proceedings are sometimes dragging too long. There are various reasons for that, chiefly the complexity of the matters under examination.

[Question] There are also objections that the public has not been fully informed about those matters.

[Answer] INDEED, NOT FULLY. THE WRITTEN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SENTENCE IS AN ADDITIONAL PUNISHMENT PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLES 36 AND 49 OF THE PENAL CODE. In addition to imprisonment, fines, compensations and the confiscation of property, the court has been handing down such punishments in many cases, but not in all of them. Supplementing [uzupelnienie] the court's action in this field is not an appropriate practice.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

KATOWICE MILITIA ARRESTS TERRORIST SUSPECTS

LD021434 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Warsaw 1 Sept. -- Officers from the Katowice Voivodship militia headquarters have detained four men aged 26-32, suspected of belonging to an underground terrorist gang which was planning killings of what the gang's instruction defined as "political opponents."

The militia identified the gang as a storm squad of the so-called Upper Silesia Fighting Organisation the aims of which are set out in the seized instructions entitled "The Barricade" and other documents. Searching the apartment of one of the four the militia also found a tape with a recording of the so-called "Radio Solidarnosc."

Especially abhorring is the gang's document entitled: "The Instruction of Special Actions" which describes in detail the procedure of passing death sentences and the most effective ways of killing victims, including pregnant women.

CZYREK ADDRESSES PLANT YOUTH REPRESENTATIVES

AU021246 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 82 p 2

[Report signed "W.F.": "For Agreement and Reforms"]

[Text] On 28 August, a national conference of young workers from the Union of Polish Socialist Youth took place in Warsaw with the participation of Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary.

Representatives of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth from 207 of the largest plants took part in it, as well as members of the working Youth Council and the chairman of voivodship administrations of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth. The conference was chaired by Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth's chief administration group.

The subject of the conference was expressed in the introduction to the talks, announced by Jaroslaw Klima, deputy chairman of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth's chief administration group: "How does the implementation of the resolution of the ninth PZPR Central Committee plenum look in plants; are factory organizations capable of making the most of the possibilities opened up by this resolution and are the activities of young people for the sake of leading the country out of the crisis and for the sake of accord helping to calm down feelings and ease emotions?"

Fifteen persons spoke during the discussion. Some of them expressed great concern over the leaflets appearing among workforces, over the calls to stage rallies and over the fact that once again someone is trying to manipulate young people. The speakers pointed out the initiatives which increase the union's influence on the attitudes of young people and the difficulties in the work of the organization's circles in plants: cases of not allowing representatives of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth to take part in talks by collectives in departments, unjust wages, changes made by directors to the recommendations of the social committee, the rather high interest rate for home construction loans and the lack of premises for young housing cooperatives.

Several speakers dealt with the economic reform, stressing that knowledge of legal acts is not of the highest standard, that there are plenipotentiaries in some branches despite the fact that voluntary associations have arisen and that there is a lack of coordination in checking the economy. It was pointed out that the organization's authority comes from the high requirements asked of its members and of the relentless tracking down of those guilty of negligence and disorder. The significance of the work of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth among children in schools was discussed.

At the end of the discussion, Comrade Jozef Czyrek made a speech. He conveyed greetings from Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He said that the party will consistently implement the resolution of the ninth plenum with the participation of young people. Counting on a policy of dialogue and accord, the party is not forgetting about the political battle that is going on. It is a fighting party, not only a directing one. The sharpening of the situation in the country shows not so much the opponent's strength as his intention to halt the positive trends which have become possible after the introduction of martial law.

Comrade Czyrek further pointed out the need to perceive the international conditions caused by the crisis in Poland. He said that there are forces interested in a sharpening of the situation in our country, since this makes it possible for them to try and achieve favorable solutions in other parts of the world. He also stressed that interest in a stabilization of the situation in Poland is becoming more and more evident in Western Europe. Our trade relations with the CEMA countries are helping stabilization, however, we must emerge from the crisis, above all, by our own strength.

Speaking about the party's most urgent tasks, J. Czyrek said that the situation demands that above all the confidence of the workers' class be gained by means of political battle. The difficult economic problems also demand a great deal of attention. Both these tasks should be jointly handled. The party believes that victory will emerge from the political scuffles and that most of the community, including the young generation, will not take the road of political adventurism and will not take part in cutting down "the branch on which we sit." We can count on the support of the socialist countries in this battle, but it would be wrong to say that they will accept the costs of leading Poland out of the crisis.

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth's chief administration, summed up the talks. He stressed that the union's members will face a difficult test in the nearest future. The union supports calm and accord, reforms and the growing influences of young people on all important decisions. This is being made possible by the ninth plenum resolution and by the appointment of a minister, to be followed by a Council of Ministers committee on youth affairs.

Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the PZPR Central Committee's social-professional section, and Minister Andrzej Ornat, member of the Council of Ministers, also took part in the conference.

RENEWAL OF WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT DISCUSSED

LD301908 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Text] The Sejm Commission for Worker Self-Management in Enterprises at its meeting today discussed the renewal of the activity of worker self-managements including training its activists. In connection with his appointment to the post of minister for religious affairs the commission's chairman to date, Deputy Adam Lopatka, submitted his resignation from the post held. Josef Barecki was elected the new chairman.

The deputies heard a report by government plenipotentiary for economic reform affairs, Minister Wladyslaw Baka, about the progress of the process of reactivating worker self-managements in enterprises. He states, that in the recent period a considerably increased influx of suggestions on this matter and of decisions permitting self-managements to start operating can be seen. In the discussion the deputies stressed that the practice up to now shows the credibility of the authorities' intentions and declarations on this issue.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON 'CORRECTNESS' OF CRIMEA TALKS

AU011117 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Aug 82 p 7

[Daniel Lulinski, commentary: "The Correctness of the Crimean Talks" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE MEETINGS HELD THIS YEAR BY THE LEADERS OF THE FRATERNAL PARTIES AND COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY IN THE CRIMEA HAVE AROUSED A NATURAL INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL OPINION AND IN THE WORLD'S DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES. COMRADE WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI AND OTHER LEADERS OF WARSAW PACT AND CEMA STATES, IN THE BILATERAL TALKS WITH COMRADE LEONID BREZHNEV, ALSO DISCUSSED PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

The states of our community have resolutely condemned the policy of fomenting East-West tensions and the application of diktat, sanctions and discrimination by the United States and some NATO countries against other sovereign countries. THE UNPRECEDENTED PRESSURE EXERTED BY THE UNITED STATES ON POLAND FOR NEARLY TWO YEARS AND THE SHOCKING FACT THAT WASHINGTON HAS BEEN INSPIRING AND BACKING THE ACTIVITY OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY UNDERGROUND IN OUR COUNTRY are examples of this.

In the Crimea, they clearly pointed to the imperialist forces which aim at hindering the Polish people and state in overcoming the crisis and at causing internal destablization in our country, and thus at jeopardizing stabilization in a sensitive part of Europe.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, WHAT MATTERS TO US POLES IS COMRADE LEONID BREZHNEV'S PROMISE THAT POLAND WILL RECEIVE THE SOVIET UNION'S FURTHER ASSISTANCE IN OVERCOMING ITS ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. Along with this promise, our press was able to report that the USSR HAD BEEN DELIVERING RAW MATERIALS AND GOODS TO POLAND AHEAD OF SCHEDULE.

The states of our community, it was stated in the Crimea, oppose the policy of confrontation in international relations and of undermining cooperation between the East and the West WITH CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITY TO ELIMINATE CONTROVERSIAL PROBLEMS, RESTRICT AND REDUCE ARMAMENTS, RESUME DIALOGUE AND FOSTER AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONFIDENCE AMONG STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

A highly important aspect of the assessment of the international situation was the emphasis that ITS DEVELOPMENT LARGELY DEPENDS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS AMONG EUROPEAN STATES BELONGING TO DIFFERENT SYSTEMS. After all, Europe has become the "cradle of detente," and it can give the process of detente new impetus.

It was no accident that the communique on the talks between W. Jaruzelski and L. Brezhnev called attention to the fact that POLAND HAS PLAYED AN HISTORICALLY ESSENTIAL ROLE IN THE DESTINY OF EUROPE AND THAT ITS ROLE, AS A STATE INSEPARABLY BELONGING TO THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, HAS INCREASED. It was also emphasized that, BY ITS PEACEFUL AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLY POLICY, POLAND HAS BEEN CONTRIBUTING TOWARD THE STABILITY OF THE STRUCTURES IN POSTWAR EUROPE AND TOWARD THE INVIOLABILITY OF THE EXISTING FRONTIERS. And, conversely, everything that goes against Poland and its stability also goes against European security.

Many commentaries have also been prompted by the formulations of the communique on L. Brezhnev's talks with E. Honecker concerning the threats to the FRG's relations with the socialist countries arising from the intention to deploy hundreds of new American missiles in West Germany. THE FRG COULD CONTRIBUTE MORE PALPABLY TO THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPEAN PROBLEMS, THE LEADERS OF THE USSR AND THE GDR STATED.

ON HIS PART, L. BREZHNEV EMPHASIZED THAT THE USSR HAS EXPRESSED A READINESS TO FREE EUROPE FROM ALL KINDS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, that is the readiness to accept a real "zero option." In the Crimea, the socialist states came out in favor of a comprehensive, lasting and just settlement of Middle East problems and unanimously stated that the United States also bore responsibility for Israel's aggression against Lebanon and for the Palestinian tragedy. In their talks, the leaders of the USSR and Mongolia emphasized that the Far Eastern states, too, can build their relations on principles of good neighborliness, and that there are no problems that cannot be settled at the negotiating table.

The days and weeks which have passed since the Crimean talks of the leaders of the socialist states have fully confirmed the correctness of their analysis of the international situation and the indispensability of the efforts to improve it and to check the policy of confrontation advocated from across the ocean.

The Middle East developments, the pressure and "sanctions" that are continued to be applied by the United States in international relations (now also with regard to its allies in Western Europe), the intensification of the propaganda aggression against Poland, and the publication in Washington of the mad plans for waging and "winning" a prolonged nuclear war against the USSR -- all this proves that RONALD REAGAN'S POLICY IS THE MAIN CONFLICT-GENERATING [KONFLIKTOGENNY] SOURCE IN THE WORLD. It endangers the security and peaceful future of whole continents, including the United States.

The Crimean talks of the leaders of the brotherly countries have once again demonstrated to international opinion that the states of our community are the mainstay of peace in the world. Along with other peace-loving forces and public movements, also in the West, including the United States, we can see the POSSIBILITY TO PREVENT A NUCLEAR WAR, TO CHECK THE ARMS RACE AND TO CONSOLIDATE IN THE WORLD THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, WHICH HAS NO SENSIBLE ALTERNATIVE.

INTERVIEW WITH FINANCE MINISTRY DIRECTOR

PM011151 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 6/8 Aug 82 p 3

[Interview with the director of the Finance Ministry's Foreign Department, Zbigniew Karcz, by Aleksandra Chmura of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA -- date, place not given]

[Text] Whatever might be said today of the causes for Poland's indebtedness and on the mismanagement of all those billions of dollars, one thing remains beyond any doubt: We must pay off these debts out of the national income which we ourselves will make. That is, of course, if we do not want to suffer today and tomorrow the numerous and severe consequences of the possible announcement of Poland's bankruptcy. How, then, are we to pay off those billions of debt when the coffers are empty?

Here is what Zbigniew Karcz, director of the Foreign Department of the Ministry of Finance and a participant in the Vienna talks with the working group of the representatives of commercial banks on the repayment of the Polish debt told a TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA reporter.

[Question] Exactly how high, Mr Director, are our debts? This question is often asked because the publicly stated amounts vary -- why is that?

Z. Karcz: Here is my answer to the question about the extent of our indebtedness. Our total debt as of 30 June 1982 amounted to $24.6 billion. As recently as a few months ago it exceeded $25 billion. This difference is partly the result of the debts being reduced by the repayment of short-term credits. But the extent of indebtedness calculated at a given date is significantly influenced by the frequent fluctuations in the dollar exchange rate. If about 60 percent of our debt is in other convertible currencies, then it is obvious that when they fall in relation to the dollar, our debt, calculated in these dollars, decreases too. This is, however, no cause for joy. I speak about it only to explain the differences in the stated amounts of our debt. It often depends solely on the dollar exchange rate at the given time.

[Question] Considering the extent of our debt, some half a billion dollars more or less does not seem to be a major problem. However, having this half a billion dollars at hand today we could, in the opinion of a layman, cope more easily with the urgent import needs of our country....

Z. Karcz: Yes, but fluctuations in currency exchanges rates only alter the status of our debt for the given day. In any case, getting excited about the level of our indebtedness, calculating its extent per capita, consoling ourselves with the higher debts of others -- all this seems to be a kind of numbers game where very different conclusions can be drawn from different configurations of numbers ....

[Question] A game? But, Mr Director, we feel that our debt pushes us toward a precipice. The economy cannot catch its breath....

Z. Karcz: That is true. I want, however, to convince more people, in addition to yourself, that it is not only the total level of our indebtedness that determines its evaluation and the evaluation of the feasibility of repayment. Two factors are decisive here. The first is the time scale of the debt. If, for example, the part-payments of our debt were to be spread over 10 years, you can calculate for yourself how considerably the annual rate of repayment would fall. We are obliged to repay the bulk of our debt within the next 3 years. The second factor is the amount of our export returns. If, for instance, we made $11 billion this year -- and that was by no means impossible as recently as the late seventies and would be nothing extraordinary in comparison with, for example, Bulgaria, if we confine ourselves to the socialist countries -- we could then safely pay the interest on the debt and keep imports at a level which would not strangle our own destiny.

[Question] How much, then, must we obligatorily pay our creditors now?

Z. Karcz: For the next 3 years the interest on the debt will amount to $3 billion per annum. Apart from the interest, the set dates for the main capital repayments fall within that period. And so this year we would have to pay about $7 billion on that account.

[Question] Where are we going to find that amount? After all, it is assumed that our export returns will be on the order of $5.5 billion in hard currency, and if we wish to maintain our exports we must also import.... Unless it is true what we can read in the London FINANCIAL TIMES (13 July this year) about the "surprising fact... that Poland received $501 million in new medium- and long-term credits in the first 3 months of this year from some mysterious source"?

Z. Karcz: Unfortunately, it is not true. We have no hidden source of credits. We did indeed receive a $460 million nonrepayable loan [bezzwrotna pozyczka] last year from the USSR, but that is a universally known fact. Our creditors are also aware of our difficult economic situation. They know we have no money today for the repayment or for the full servicing of our debt.

[Question] Have they accepted this?

Z. Karcz: Yes, for the financiers and realists, which is proved by the agreement on the question of our repayments for the past year....

[Question] Could you, Mr. Director, remind us of the details of that agreement?

Z. Karcz: I must begin by reminding you that Poland enjoyed credits which were halfway quaranteed by governments or state institutions, and credits from private banks. In April 1981 an agreement was finally signed as a result of which we had our repayment of installments and interest on government-guaranteed credits rescheduled over 8 years (including 4 years' deferment). This involved 90 percent of the amount due for the past year on that account.

Talks with the private banks took longer. It was a difficult exercise for the Western banks too, considering the large volume of credits and the number of banks involved (about 500). In addition, we are not yet a member of the International Monetary Fund or of the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which makes the situation more difficult. A length of time passed, therefore, before groups of representatives of the banks involved were formed -- regional, then staff groups, and some sort of presidia composed of several people with the appropriate authority to conduct talks. In the meantime the economic situation of our country was undergoing a dramatic change. At the end of 1980 and the start of 1981, when we were conducting talks with government representatives and the results of the second half of 1980 were assessed as very bad, nobody -- in the West or even here on the Vistula -- suspected that it was only the beginning of that downward slope along which we started to roll with lightning speed propelled by the numerous strikes and the disorganization within the economy. The stream of our exports began to dry up rapidly. By now the banks were starting to manifest their growing doubts. Hence the talks were difficult and protracted. The general agreement delineating the forms of repayment was signed on 6 April this year in Frankfurt after the state of martial law had been declared in Poland. We got slightly worse terms than in the case of the government-guaranteed credits. The repayments of almost the whole of the principal were rescheduled over 7 and 1/2 years, but the interest and part of the short-term credits had to be paid. Which, as we know, we have finally done in the current year.

[Question] What were the aces you had in your hand when you sat down to the game of "hard poker," as the talks on the current year's payment obligations are called in the West?

Z. Karcz: It is a good term, hard poker. The Poles sat down to that game with the opinion -- which I am convinced our partners shared -- that the operation of rescheduling our liabilities due this year and next ought to be repeated. Already in April this year we declared our readiness to start negotiations. These were taken up by our partners in London, on 29 April to be precise. By now we could talk about the returning calm and the progress of normalization in our country. The extraction industries -- coal, sulfur, copper -- were beginning to recover their breath. The fall in the output of the processing industries was being slowed, which, as we had hoped, should have reassured our creditors. But in the meantime the international situation had changed to the disadvantage of the advocates of economic cooperation, especially along East-West lines. The widely known instances of the erecting of barriers to such cooperation and trade exchange are now taking place. Take for instance the notorious attempt to stop the gas pipeline deal between the USSR and the countries of West Europe. At the same time the U.S. hawks resort with increasing frequency to such concepts as the Euromissiles, the food weapon, the credit weapon. If the use of the credit hatchet is not abandoned it may have an extremely adverse long-term impact on the development of the world economy, both for the creditors and the loan recipients. Hence the sharp protests in the West against the U.S. stand. However, the game is being played now with more than economic matters at stake. We are here entering the wider arena of international politics and the aggravation of internation relations by the Reagan team....

[Question] I understand this does not create a favorable climate around the talks on the repayment of our debt?

Z. Karcz: It does not. Although financiers are usually down to earth. The evidence of that is to be found in the talks with the private banks conducted earlier in London, then in Vienna with our participation, and last week without us in New York. The governments on the other hand have suspended talks with us. They also withdraw their credits, even on those credit lines which had been agreed previously. This hits production within our processing industry, which depends on imports. It is obvious that the interests of our creditors suffer correspondingly. After all, the bulk of the credit was tied up with their exports into our market: Aside from grain, they were selling us machines, components, installations and so. From that viewpoint the turning off of the credit tap rebounds also on our creditors, and this is why I maintain -- and fortunately I am not alone here -- that credit restrictions do not stand a chance.

[Question] What -- if any -- are your best cards in this poker game, Mr. Director, beside the belief that the creditors will be willing to reach agreement with us and in this way make it possible for our economy to recover its breath -- which would guarantee them the repayment of the sums they had loaned to us.

Z. Karcz: I do have some aces. Our hand is not a bad one. Poland is a large, populous country, rich in valuable raw materials already being extracted, as well as potential ones (the Lublin coal or the Suwalki ores), with a considerably developed production potential which stands at the average European technological level — a country with which our creditors had been doing good business on a large scale for many years. They count on resuming such business after Poland's emergence from its crisis trough. And they are right. Therefore an agreement, a compromise, is advantageous for both sides.

[Question] Are we an exception with regards to our difficult repayments situation?

Z. Karca: No, but I would not draw comfort from the troubles of others -- or should I say from the fact that others have debts larger than ours.

[Question] Why are we so anxious to return to the International Monetary Fund? What are we counting on?

Z. Karca: By joining the IMF we would gain access to credit, or the possibility of rescheduling short-term credits so that we could pay them off over a longer period, which would be more advantageous for us. In the future -- I believe that it will be less distant than those of little faith maintain -- we will begin investing, for after all we cannot allow the decapitalization of our economy. And then aid from the World Bank, with investment in the infrastructure, could be greatly helpful to us. Indirect benefits would be presented by the greater possibility of the realization of construction projects in the third world countries. We have here at our disposal the potential, the experience and, what is more important, the renown we enjoy in the world as constructors of sugar refineries, municipal projects and roads -- and these projects could be realized by firms from member states. The question of general credibility is also important here.

[Question] Are we then, in your opinion, going to be accepted as a member of this fund?

Z. Karcz: There are no reasons why we should not be accepted, but it is the specific principle of that organization that it is not the financiers who have the vote, but the countries....and thus we can now see an informal postponement of the decision concerning our application to join that organization. The example of Hungary, jsut accepted into the IMF, seems to offer a good prognosis. I am hopeful.

[Question] And how do you see our chances of paying off our debts? Is there talk of three scenarios?

Z. Karcz: Scenarios? Better to leave those to film directors. For us, with the continued policy of a gradual spreading out of dangerously accumulated liabilities, the most important thing today is to find, together with our partners, the proverbial golden means to reconcile our interests with that of our creditors. And we do have such a chance. Although it is difficult to ponder the positive results of the crisis while lining up for meat, it is nonetheless necessary to stress that we are learning the hard rules of economy much faster than at any other time now that we are faced with the situation of higher necessity.

We must change -- and we are doing it already -- the method of steering our economy. For the fact remains beyond all dispute that the external stability of a country always depends on its internal equilibrium. Our present troubles with the repayment of our debt are the result of the lack of such internal equilibrium. We must achieve it -- through reform, through changing the structure of our economy, through developing exports. We know that the average British citizen is happy to read in his paper about a raise in British exports -- but the average Pole simply suffers from export allergy. I do agree that this sensitivity is caused by the gaps in the internal market. But we must export in order to import. However, antiquated concepts of an autarkic, self-sufficient economy are today unacceptable for Poland. If within 2 and 1/2 to 3 years we could manage to achieve a production level equal to that of 1979, we might achieve a balance of payments in the years 1986-87. This does not mean we will have no more debts. On the other hand, and this is far more important, it means that export returns would make it possible for us to service our debt and our imports currently, without having to sit down to a game of "hard poker."

[Question] Does Poland have to live off credits?

Z. Karca: Why not? The whole world uses credit as one of the elements of rational economic development. The point is that the increasing, or the decreasing, of our debt ought to be the result of our own free choice, not of an enforced set of circumstances.

[Question] Mr. Director -- is Poland, then, not under threat of bankruptcy?

Z. Karcz: It is not. And I am saying it both as a financier and a pragmatist. The credit weapon is dangerous for both sides, for the whole world. So it is necessary to bury this hatchet, although, of course, our debt is above all our own problem, and to emerge from it is in our interest and in our hands.

[Correspondent] Thank you for the interview.

LATE REPORTS: SIT-IN STRIKE, FOURTH DEATH

NC031325 Paris AFP in English 1305 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Sept 3 (AFP) -- Reports reaching here from Jastrzebie, in southern Poland, said that town was also sealed off by security forces this morning and no foreigner was allowed to enter.

Well-informed trade union source here said the miners in Lubin, the copper-mining centre in southwest Poland, were on a sit-in strike. The source said the strike began yesterday, when the miners refused to return to the surface.

A demonstrator was killed in the southwestern town of Wroclaw during clashes in the past few days, government spokesman Jerzy Urban told a press conference here today. This brought the overall death toll to four.

ARREST WARRANTS ISSUED FOR KOR ACTIVISTS

LD031530 Warsaw PAP in English 1449 GMT 3 Sep 82

["Statement of Chief Military Prosecutor's Office" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 3 Sept -- The chief military prosecutor's office told PAP today that as part of an inquiry into criminal activity of "the Committee for Social Self-Defence -- KOR", Poland's military prosecutor had recently ordered the arrest of Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Jan Litynski and Henryk Wujec on charges of making preparations for a violent overthrow of the Polish socio-political system -- Article 123 and Article 128, Point 1, of the Criminal Code. Wanted warrants have been issued on other KSS-KOR leaders who remain in hiding while an in absentia legal action has been taken against Jan Jozef Lipski and Miroslaw Chojecki who are now abroad. As already reported, Zbigniew Romanszewski had been arrested earlier.

SFRY'S MOJSOV ARRIVES FOR OFFICIAL VISIT 2 SEP

AU021001 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/9/1982 -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia arrived in Bucharest on September 2 for an official visit to Romania upon the invitation of the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Stefan Andrei. Upon arrival at the Otopeni Airport, the guest was welcomed by Stefan Andrei and other Romanian officials.

Begins Talks With Andrei

AU021937 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2/9/1982 -- Talks started in Bucharest on September 2 between Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

On the occasion, they informed each other on the current concerns about the socio-economic development of the two countries. They pointed with satisfaction to the good relations established between the two friendly neighbor countries, which continuously grow and deepen. In harmony with the understandings and decisions reached between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, and the party and state leaders of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The mutual wish was reiterated to work further for the strengthening of the Romanian-Yugoslav collaboration and cooperation in keeping with the Romanian and Yugoslav peoples' fundamental aspirations, with the general cause of socialism and progress in the world.

Within the exchange of views on questions of the current international life, the two countries' worry was expressed, about the worsening of the tension. Stress was placed on the two governments' will to ever more actively collaborate on an external plane for the lessening of the international tension, for a policy of peace, detente, observance of peoples' independence and sovereignty, of security and collaboration in Europe and worldwide, for relations of collaboration, friendship and good neighbourhood in the Balkans, for military disengagement and disarmament, nuclear above all, for the liquidation of the policy of strength and the peaceful settlement of all states of war and tension among states, for the building of a new international economic order. The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship.

KUWAITI PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION DEPARTS

AU021757 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1738 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2/9/1982 -- The Kuwaiti parliamentary delegation, led by Muhammad Yusuf al-'Adasani president of the National Assembly of Kuwait, chairman of the Kuwaiti group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, who paid an official visit to Romania, left Bucharest on September 2.

GREEK MILITARY DELEGATION VISITS 28 Aug-2 SEP

AU021756 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1737 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2/9/1982 -- A military delegation of the Hellenic Republic, led by Admiral Theodhoros (Deyannis), chief of the General Staff of National Defence, made an official visit in Romania over August 28-September 2, as guests of the Romanian Ministry of National Defence. The Hellenic military delegation conducted talks at the Ministry of National Defence, toured military units and learning establishments, economic and tourist sports.

NIGERIAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT BUCHAREST 13-15 SEP

AU300941 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Text] At President Nicolae Ceausescu's invitation the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, will pay an official friendly visit to our country 13-15 September.

CEAUSESCU VISITS JIU VALLEY MINING AREA

AU021851 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1817 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2/9/1982 -- Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania started a working visit in Hunedoarar County on September 2. The RCP and Romanian state leader is accompanied by Elena Ceausescu, Constantin Dascalescu, Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Petru Enache.

The first part of the visit, the morning, was devoted to the examination of the ways and means by which the big mining combine in the Jiu Valley can make an increased contribution to developing the country's raw materials base, to ensuring Romania's energy self-sufficiency, in keeping with the provisions of the current five-year plan, with the orientation and resolutions fo the 12th RCP Congress. The miners of the country's most important coalfield enthusiastically received President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, greeting them wholeheartedly.

The visit began at Lupeni, an old mining settlement, where the results scored by the collectivities of the mining combine in the Jiu Valley were examined, as well as its development prospects, as this combine is to supply the national economy with over 15 million tons of coal by the end of the current quinquennium, special attention being paid to coking coal. An exhition presenting the achievements of a mining equipment mending and upkeeping enterprise was visited in the same locality. Questions related to the development of the production of the mining combine in the Jiu Valley were examined again at length during a working meeting Nicolae Ceausescu had at Lupeni with representatives of the local party and state bodies, with economic executives, with miners and experts.

Next, the Romanian head of state saw round the Petrosani mining equipment enterprise, which, by its output is directly involved in the effort made by mining collectivities for the implementation of the power programme. Here President Ceausescu saw a series of new or modernized equipment made by the enterprise and other speciality units in the country.

In the afternoon of the same day, President Ceausescu visited the big hydropower building-site at Riul Mare - Retezat, important economic objective to be finished during the present five-year plan period and which will make an outstanding contribution to the fulfillment of the programme of ensuring Romania's power self-sufficiency.

The RCP general secretary was informed about the development plan of the Riul Mare -Retezat coalfield, where several hydropower stations will be built, whose electric energy production will eventually reach 1 billion kwh per year. At the close of the visit, the RCP general secretary congratulated the builders and wished them new successes in the construction of that important power objective.

Meets Mining Cadres, Speaks

AU021951 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2/9/1982 -- On September 2 President Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu, the other members of the party and state leadership accompanying the president on his new working visit to Hunedoara County, participated in Lupeni in a working meeting with secretaries of the party committees, directors, chiefs of brigade and of sector of all the mining enterprises of Valea Jiului. During the meeting the sides analysed the stage attained in the fulfillment of the plan for the coal production over the first eight months of the year and the measures to be taken for further enhancing the production of cooking and steam coal.

During the working meeting several participants took the floor addressing the RCP general secretary vivid thanks and gratitude for the support he is granting to the activity carried out for the extraction of coal, for his care for the work and life of miners.

Analysing the activity of the units within the Valea Jiului combine those having taken the floor made numerous proposals aiming at a better organization of production and work, at ensuring the work force and at improving its training, at a proper supply of mines with everything needed.

At the conclusion of the working meeting Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

The RCP general secretary stressed that the meeting was organized taking into account the big complex tasks set for the miners in the programme of extraction of over 15 million tons of coal until 1985, five million tons being coking coal, a production that can be turned out entirely considering the technico-material base at the hand of the mining industry at present. The RCP general secretary referred extensively to the mine transports considering this to be an essential aspect of mechanization of the underground work. He asked that a collective be shaped up -- subordinated to the Council of Ministers -- for the working out of a programme for the complete mechanization of works understand.

Showing that our industry had everything needed for ensuring the complete mechanization of the coal extraction the RCP general secretary stressed the need for firm measures to be taken for the training of mining cadres at the level of knowledge required by the advanced technology now used in the coal industry, and in due number. He asked that a programme be worked out for improving the training of the workers and experts for the extractive industry at the level of present tasks and demands.

In conclusion Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his firm belief that the miners would fulfill creditably their duties, contributing to the country's independence in point of energy, to the progress of the entire national economy.

STAMBOLIC GREETS AL-QADHDHAFI ON REVOLUTION DAY

AU022020 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 82 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- On the occasion of the national holiday of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, the anniversary of the 1 September revolution, Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent congratulations, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, to Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution.

The telegram expresses wishes for the further prosperity of the friendly people of that nonaligned country wiht which the SFRY has relations of traditional friendship and comprehensive cooperation.

BULGARIA 'APPROPRIATES' MACEDONIAN HISTORY

AU021859 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 82 p 6

[Report by TANJUG correspondent Pavle Mrmevski]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 31 Aug -- In recent days in the largest festival hall in Sofia, a large representative exhibition opened which, by means of various audiovisuals, shows the development path of Bulgarian history and culture through the centuries, that is, from the very beginning of the existence of the first Bulgarian state which, Bulgarian historians claim, was founded 1,300 years ago.

Unsuccessful attempt

However, the exhibition's visitors immediately notice that this cultural event has been exploited to appropriate what is not part of Bulgarian history, to appropriate the past of the Macedonian people and the fighters for their national liberation as well as the Macedonian educators and literary workers of the renaissance period. This is yet another unsuccessful attempt to "convince" the Bulgarian public that the national history of the Macedonian people and their rich culture are a "component part" of Bulgarian history and that Goce Delce, Dame Gruev, Jane Sandanski, the Miladinov brothers and other known Macedonian giants of the recent and distant past are -- Bulgarians.

It is at the very entrance of the great exhibition hall that the names -- as one of the numerous exhibition guides explains -- of "the most prominent Bulgarian revolutionaries, educators and statesmen" are written in large letters on an illuminated rotating column. However, among the names of these "most prominent ones" it is possible to read the names of Goce Delcev, Jane Sandanski, Dame Gruev, Dimitar and Konstantin Miladinov, Kliment Ohridski, Emperor Samuil and a number of other well-known names from the national history of the Macedonian people.

"Testing Knowledge"

The exhibition's organizers introduced various games with slide projectors and screens to "entertain" children and adults. For instance, if you press the button with the name of Konstandin Miladinov, a color picture of Miladinov appears on the screen, and then if you press the "correct" button, the inscription "prominent Bulgarian educator..." appears in illuminated letters on another screen. Or, under the picture of Kliment Ohridski, you can read the following: "great Bulgarian literary workers and educator, founder of the Ohrid literary school. Educated more than 3,000 pupils and fellow fighters."

These "knowledge testing games" also introduce the pictures of and inscriptions about Goce Delcev and Nikola Karev as well as the 1903 Ilinden uprising of the Macedonian people with the explanation that what is involved in this connection is "the Ilinden uprising of the Bulgarian population of Macedonia," and the like.

Leaving the exhibition hall, no objective observer and visitor of the exhibition can avoid the impression that a great national cultural event has been exploited for political purposes.

ECONOMIC ILLS, NEW PLANS VIEWED BY OFFICIALS

Planning Body Issues Estimates

LD021748 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1633 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Belgrade, September 2 (TANJUG) -- The economic difficulties facing Yugoslavia will in all probability lead to amendments to the country's medium-term development plan. As confirmed also at the congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), the current plan is overstrained and unrealistic and contains many elements that "add to" the instability and insufficiently stimulate exports.

The director of the Federal Institute for Planning, Milos Sindjich, explains that social product should grow up to 1985 at an annual rate of 2.5 percent (instead of 4.5 percent), industrial output at 3.4 percent annually (now 5 percent), agriculture at 3.3 percent (4.5 percent at present), exports of commodities and services at 8.7 percent (now 8 percent) and imports at 2.4 percent (instead of 1.1 percent at present).

The largest restrictions, as much as 25 percent, are planned to be applied in the consumption and investment sectors. Investment in the non-manufacturing sector will namely be cut by this percentage and that in the manufacturing sector by 3.2 percent.

Reductions in the number of administrative workers and greater investments in the economy, with remuneration aimed at increasing output, should encourage labour productivity which at present records a marked decline.

SAWPY Propounds Work Plans

LD030206 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] The changes in and additions to the country's medium-term plan, which were announced early this year, are beginning to take shape. According to what journalists were told by representatives of the SAWPY Coordination Committee for preparing the changes in the plan, a large part of the work has already been completed. Self-managing agreements, it was stated, are being prepared. These agreements will bind individual branches of the economy in the country into what is known as production units, which will be the basis for the preparation of the federal plan.

Marjan Rozic, chairman of this newly-formed body in the Socialist Alliance, stressed that it is not possible to endorse any efforts in favor of small changes in the plan and noted that the new orientation calls for long-term stability and maximum and realistic grasp of the possibilities for development. The current plan, as had been established at the LCY congress and found by the Kraigher commission, is overstrained and unrealistic and abounds in elements which "fuel" instability and fail to provide sufficient stimulus to export. The country needs a plan which will mobilize associated labor along the strategic lines of development and reflect the realization of the economic functions of the federation.

Milos Sindjic, director of the Federal Institute for Planning, gave details of the basic changes. The social product should grow until 1985 at the average annual rate of 2.5 percent (instead of the present plan's figure of 4.5 percent), agriculture at the rate of 3.3 percent (instead of 4.5 percent), exports of goods and services 8.7 percent (instead of 8 percent) and import, instead of rising at the rate of 1.1 percent, should rise at the rate of 2.4 percent. All the calculations show that at this juncture the standard of living cannot rise and that it is expected to drop at the possible rate of 2.5 percent.

The greatest restrictions were envisaged in the sectors of consumption and investments. Instead of maintaining the former level of consumption and investments, they are now expected to be reduced by as much as 25 percent. The reduction of the number of people employed in administration and higher investments in the economy, combined with more stimulative rewards, should provide an impetus to work productivity, which is now obviously on the decline. The Federal Executive Council should draft these preparations by the end of the month while the whole process should be completed by the SFRY Assembly by the end of the year.

LCS Presidium Considers Trends

AU021808 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Excerpts] At its session today, the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia pointed out that the unfavorable economic trends in Serbia can only be overcome by revitalizing production and increasing exports, a task in which the communists and all employed persons must become engaged to a greater extent. The responsibility for poor work results must be intensified. The session of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia which discussed the current economic situation in the republic was attended by high officials of the republic and its two provinces. Branislav Ikonic, president of the Serbian Executive Council, delivered the introductory report. Aleksandar Vlajkovic and Zivojin Jerotijevic report on the session:

In his introductory report, Branislav Ikonic pointed out the most important problems which demand an urgent sociopolitical action by communists and all working people. The unfavorable trends have not been halted. Industrial production is declining: In the first 7 months, it increased by only 1.2 percent as compared with the same period last year; in July, it was more than 4 percent below the July 1981 level; and in August, it was no better. All this also resulted in reduced exports: In the first 8 months, exports nominally increased by a mere 2 percent, that is, considerably below the Yugoslav average. At the same time, imports were reduced by 8 percent and this fact contributed to a reduction of the republic's trade deficit by 30 percent. The trade deficit now amounts to $317 million, which does not represent a favorable situation. The difficulties in the supply of raw materials and producer goods as well as the electric power are a consequence of that fact. The economic difficulties can only be overcome by increasing production and exports, Ikonic emphasized and said:

[Begin Ikonic recording] An increase of industrial production by a few percentage points in the organizations of associated labor producing ore, coal, minerals and other raw materials and producer goods that do not depend excessively on imports could halt and turn around the unfavorable trend in industrial production. This increase can be achieved now through a better work organization and a better reward for production work together with the aforementioned activities. On the other hand, we have had a good harvest year, and thus the food industry now has its chance, which it should not miss. At the same time, the utmost efforts to achieve at least a partial improvement in the supply of raw materials and producer goods by utilizing the existing credit possibilities and by linking the export-import transaction to reciprocal deliveries would contribute to halting the decline in production. At the same time, each individual organization must review its stocks of finished products -- the situation is different in individual organizations -- and strive to reduce its stocks, especially by increasing its exports as much as possible.

Despite the great difficulties in obtaining the import components of production, I am convinced that we have the potential and the strength to achieve the necessary turn if we work energetically, in an organized manner and, what is especially important, very quickly because, if that turn is not made in the fall months when certain circumstances are favorable -- after all, the electric power supply is somewhat better, the harvest yield was high and other circumstances -- it will be far more difficult to achieve it later.

Branislav Ikonic also spoke about the high increase in personal incomes which was not in line with the production results and productivity. More than 3,000 economic organizations have failed to coordinate their personal incomes with the growth of their net incomes. The situation is similar in social activities. Ikonic pointed out that the electric power industry, banks and insurance institutes have not implemented the adopted policy of a slower rate of increase in personal incomes. A cause for special concern is the organizations operating with losses in which the self-managing organs and communists have failed to exercise the necessary social and political responsibility.

Branko Mirkovic, head of the working group for agriculture, spoke on the current agricultural problems, the harvest results, the forthcoming fall sowing and the fall harvesting. Noting that, this year, the agricultural production has been more successful than in the past, Mirkovic especially called attention to unutilized reserves in agriculture. A better utilization of these reserves would eliminate imports. Despite a record wheat delivery, it is estimated that another 100,000 of wheat could be delivered by the end of the year.

We single out the following few interesting observations and appraisals from the discussion at the session in which 11 speakers participated: Bogdan Radojcic: Our efforts are not in proportion to the achieved results. A certain relaxed attitude toward and a lack of interest in the economic stabilization are apparent. Petar Kostic: Despite the unambitious plans, even last year's results have not been achieved in nearly all fields of economic operations in Kosovo. The causes of unfavorable economic trends are mainly of a subjective nature, ranging from the departure of experts to sabotaging of actions. Those responsible for damages are being unmasked slowly or not at all and the political platform on Kosovo has been accepted hardly anywhere as a document of action. Milan Tadio: Some kind of passiveness has spread among large sections of workers and this phenomenon requires a more complete analysis. As a matter of fact, the workers do not have the impression that their working and social positions are determined only through work. It is this passiveness that has resulted in the payment of personal incomes in excess of the adopted limits.

KOSOVO POLJE MEETING DISCUSSES 'BITTER' REALITY

LD022236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Text] Pristina, 2 Sep (TANJUG) -- New, mainly bitter stories are added daily to the mosaic of Kosovo's reality. All these individual pictures of life, which have over the past year and a half been depicted openly, publicly and much more courageously than in preceding years, most often in front of highest-ranking representatives of public life, are almost always marked by the bitter taste of Kosovo's present or recent reality. Part of this multicolored mosaic are the proceedings at a meeting held in Kosovo Polje last night. Apart from about 200 local people, the meeting was also attended by Kolj Siroka, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo; Tomislav Sekulic, president of the Pristina Municipal Assembly; Nebi Gasi, president of the Municipal League of Communists Organization, and (Cemalj Hasani), president of the Municipal SAWP organization.

The meeting, which lasted nearly 5 hours and was attended by more people than any other meeting within living memory in this environment, brought to the surface numerous problems which had accumulated over the years, as well as numerous questions raised and dilemmas, thoughts and doubts felt by people who have for years not led a proper sociopolitical existence. The meeting was marked both by autobiographical confessions and wise words and warnings and by statements burdened with nationalist undertones. Concrete examples were given of pressures by Albanian nationalists on their neighbors, Serbs and Montenegrins, and of poor social relations and intranational behavior. It was mentioned that the people who demolished tombstones at the Serbian cemetery a year back have not yet been discovered. It was also noted that among the directors of the work collectives on the territory of the Kosovo Polje local community there were few from the local environment. Attention was also drawn to many other things due to which life in Kosovo Polje was different until quite recently and which have lately imposed a particular strain on the political and security situation.

It is true, then, that there is plenty of work for all the sociopolitical organizations and their leaderships and members of Kosovo Polje. Unfortunately last night's meeting clearly shows that all of them, including the organization of the League of Communists, have simply gone to sleep. It was shown, in other words, that sociopolitical work has long since died down there, that problems and life have been left to chance. This could be seen in a number of about 20 speakers in the conversation, Serbs and Montenegrins and Albanians, some of whom tried to present emigration as a phenomenon due solely to pressure and as a reflection of the atmosphere of mistrust and fear, while others viewed it primarily as a natural process. No detailed analyses were given of emigration or any other problems, nor had there been any attempts to prepare them. The people of Kosovo Polje, whose local community has until recently been an example to others, have lately let go their grip of things, as was evident at last night's meeting, which looked more like a noncompulsory confessional meeting than an organized political action. The poor organization of the meeting was the reason why both Kolj Siroka and Nebi Gasi were sharply critical of the lack of seriousness and warned that the situation has first to be analyzed from every angle in SAWP branches and sections, where people are well-acquainted with one another.

Kolj Siroka, president of the Kosovo Presidency, said: "We have visibly improved the situation in Kosovo as compared with last year, but it is not yet satisfactory and we must not be content with the present state of affairs. It is not true there are no pressures aimed at forcing Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate. They do exist and every environment must establish how many cases of them there are and of what kind. We must adopt a sharp and uncompromising attitude to any form of pressure and toward anyone who is not in favor of intranational tolerance and closer relations. We must not blame each other, that is to say Serbs and Montenegrins must not blame Albanians and Albanians must not blame Serbs and Montenegrins, because we exist here. We exist here and depend on each other and must develop togetherness. There are bad individuals and such individuals must be weeded out, by Albanians among Albanians and by Serbs among Serbs as well as jointly."

"There must be order and anyone who behaves in a violent way must be punished. People of this kind must come to understand that we are an organized society." This was stated by Nebi Gasi, president of the Pristina party organization. In connection with the opening of the mosque in Kosovo Polje, Gasi said that it will be closed because it has become a cause of discord instead of being a place for prayer and that, if necessary, a different location will be found for it.

Tomislav Sekulic, president of the municipal assembly, called for an organized and joint effort to identify all the causes of emigration from this environment. He also detailed the steps being taken by the municipal authorities to alleviate communal and other problems.

A considerable number of those who took part in the conversation stressed that Kosovo Polje has over 500 communists, the same number of veterans and numerous good young people. In other words, the necessary forces exist, but they have to be identified, rallied and channelled in the right direction.